NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

No. DLXXIX.

FEBRUARY, 1905.

JAPANESE PROBLEMS.

BY COUNT OKUMA, FORMERLY PRIME MINISTER OF JAPAN.

FOREIGNERS too often fall into the error of believing that the civilization of Japan began with the opening of the country to the influences of Western ideas and institutions. In other words, they imagine that Japan is only some forty years old, and that the progress she has made during that time had no earlier foundations. Considered in this light, they imagine, not unnaturally, that the process has been far too rapid to be permanent. I think, however, that they are in the wrong, because the real Japanese civilization began some fifteen hundred years ago. Thus the opening of the country found the Japanese in a state of mind which had already been civilized into readiness for the Western ideas. Fifteen hundred years before, the entry into Japan of the elements of the civilizations of India and China had begun. Everything that Japan absorbed, from these civilizations, however, became essentially Japanese. Buddhism came from India to Japan and was influenced there by Shintoism, the Japanese religion, and it thus became a religion totally different in detail from the Indian religion. The Chinese literature, on being introduced into Japan, became tinged, as it were, with the personality of the Japanese people, that has made it typically Japanese and no longer Chinese. It was the same in the case of the fine arts, which were introduced

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into Japan from China and Korea. Thus the mind of Japan was developed and made ready to take advantage of the system and rule of the West. It was the lack of system in its civilization which constituted the real backwardness of Japan before the opening of the country. It is thus apparent that Japan is not such a young country in civilization as many suppose; and, that being the case, her rapid growth in recent years ought not to cause uneasiness and the impression of instability.

In the same way as other isolated nations have acted when brought into contact with the outside world, Japan resisted strenuously the idea of foreign intrusion. Her first endeavor was, naturally, to prevent the entry of foreigners into the country, but the Americans under Perry broke up this idea and made it impossible to prevent foreigners from treading the soil of Japan. Then the Japanese tried to fight the foreigners, and either kill them or drive them out. This stage was very similar to that represented in the present action of the Boxers in China. Several foreigners were killed or injured, and there was much disturbance throughout the country.

Finally, the Japanese people discovered that it was hopeless to try and expel the foreigner by force. They, therefore, gave up the attempt, and directed their efforts to preventing the destruction of their land and their civilization in another way. They, therefore, submitted to the inevitable, and began to seek out all that was best in the Western civilization that was thus thrust upon them, realizing clearly that only by competing with the foreigners on their own ground could the Japanese hope to cope with them.

The intensity with which the Japanese rushed into the new methods was the result of their ardent patriotism; a desire that their country should not be found incompetent to meet any situation—the same desire, love of country, that had prompted their other actions against the foreigners. They acted not from individual motives of hate, but as a common force against an evil that threatened their home and soil.

The army system of the foreigners was the first thing that they realized to be superior to their own, and soon the spears and swords gave place to rifles and guns. In navigation, also, great strides were made, and the Japanese sailors strove hard to make themselves able and competent as navigators. In the field of medicine, also, much interest was evinced in Western ideas; and

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the Japanese, realizing the superiority of these ideas to their own, introduced much of the modern science of medicine at an early date. The old idea of the Japanese people had been that all things Japanese were good, and that all things of the outside world were inferior. It was owing to this idea that their patriotism compelled them to act as they had done in repelling any outside influence. As soon as they saw that there were good ideas and things which the West had to offer, the very same patriotism of the people demanded that the best should be introduced for the benefit of their country. At that time, there were two governing heads in the country, the Shogun and the Emperor. Besides these, there were numerous feudal chiefs, who had a great amount of authority in the land. After the arrival of the foreigners and the opening of the country, it was soon evident that, for the purposes of good government and for financial reasons, it was essential to consolidate the ruling powers. Then it was determined to bring forth into supreme power the real ruler, the Emperor, and the Shogunate and the feudal chiefs were overthrown. Since then, the administration has been substantial and excellent. All these changes, great as they were and formidable, were due to the patriotism of the people and their determination to do the best for their country. It became the ambition of Japan to compete with the best of the other nations, and this purpose may be regarded as meaning as much to Japan as does the star to the sailor steering his ship by night. This determination to excel all other nations was declared in one of the earliest rescripts of the Emperor.

This same rescript gave the right of religious liberty and made Christianity permissible; formerly, this religion had been prohibited and it was not tolerated anywhere in the land. Foreign educational systems were introduced, and education was made compulsory. Both boys and girls were included, and above the age of six all were forced to attend common schools, irrespective of class or rank; formerly, there had been little female education, and the education of boys had been confined to practically only a few classes. In the army organization, conscription was introduced, which also had the effect of causing all men to feel more on an equality; formerly, the profession of arms had been limited to the knights and the samurai, or wearers of the swords. Post, telegraph, telephone, railways, steamers and lighthouses,

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etc., were all introduced into the country, and received with avidity. Financial unity brought a much better state of things into being; formerly, the various feudal chiefs had each coined money and circulated it, thus producing a monetary chaos. Under the single central system administration, however, only one kind of coin was issued, and the chaos ceased. Japan adopted all these methods and institutions from the outside world with the hope of progressing through them towards the guiding star of other nations.

It was found necessary to make new laws to meet the new conditions, and commercial and civil laws were examined and codified. National and local administrations were introduced on European models, and the necessary laws made. Many banks were established, some with Government subsidy, others by private enterprise. Railways were constructed and many other works instituted. The lack of trained Japanese to direct these new institutions necessitated the employment of foreigners for some little time. As soon as possible, many young men were sent to foreign countries to learn the various businesses and fit themselves to take the place of the foreign helpers. Sometimes as many as a thousand such students would be despatched in a year; on their return, they would gradually assume all the positions possible in the Japanese institutions. Thus, by this method, the country is now able to supply all the men necessary for the conduct of its own affairs. During the last twenty years, great changes have taken place, but the consummation has not yet been reached; and, since the root has been well planted, there is more than the expected promise of a great and luxuriant growth from it.

To pass to the present condition of Japan, although educational systems have been introduced, and Higher Education has received much attention, they have as yet not produced any great genius to prove their excellence. Every year, many students—from one hundred to five hundred—leave Japan in order to finish their studies abroad. It must be remembered, however, that the educational system has only had a comparatively short time in which to prove itself, and that it may yet be productive of great results. The rapid growth of the country necessitated much expenditure in the shape of railways, telegraphs, etc., and much money was consumed in this way. Although under the

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feudal system Japan was not a poor country, it has labored under a considerable disadvantage with regard to its recent development. In America and in Russia, for example, much foreign capital has been used to develop the country; whereas in Japan, except for the small sum of £14,000,000, raised in London, nothing but Japanese capital has been used. This has necessarily made the development of the country and the subsequent necessary new enterprises fall rather heavily upon the Japanese people. Foreign capital is much needed in Japan, especially with a view to the development of the railways. It will be necessary to change the laws relating to foreign ownership of land before much capital can be attracted from outside. I have ever been an advocate of allowing foreigners to own land in Japan. Some years ago, when the excitement over this question ran high, my advocacy of this policy was the cause of a bomb being thrown into my carriage, which so shattered my leg as to lead to its amputation.

Free Trade has been very good for the country, and the industries have developed without any protective duties. Formerly the import duties averaged six per cent., and now they average eight per cent.; but these have been simply for Government revenue and are without any protective intention. It is good to see how Japan's trade has developed under a free-trade system. From ten millions, sterling, the annual trade returns have reached fifty millions, and, at the past rate of increase, in fifty years Japan may hope to have trade returns equal to Germany.

OKUMA.

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PUBLICITY OF ELECTION EXPENDITURES.

BY PERRY BELMONT.

I.

THE total sum at the command of the Democratic National Committee in the Buchanan campaign was less than $25,000. The amount expended by the Republican National Committee during the Lincoln campaign of 1860 was a little over $100,000. The enormously increased campaign expenditures during several of the recent Presidential campaigns are to be estimated in millions.

Does the contrast imply a corresponding increase of votes bought? Does the change mean that corporations have been brought into politics by assaults on the currency and on vested rights? Does it mean that money protects money, or that the war-chest of protection is inexhaustible? Does it indicate that the destinies of the country are to be regulated by combined interests?

If a remedy is to be applied, should it be by new laws, or by party organizations reforming themselves? Should the new laws be federal? Should corporations, should trades-unions, be permitted to give money in elections? Ought the people to know how much money is devoted to the defeat of a candidate, or policy, or party? Will publicity promote or impede such efforts? Would it not, if required under effective penalties, increase the efficiency of existing laws?

II.

Only well-instructed public opinion can correctly answer such questions. Party leaders in intimate touch with the conduct of political campaigns appreciate the intolerable burdens and growing evils of present conditions. Those who have contributed to campaign funds, and who have been closely identified with the

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more important corporate and political activities, are among the most earnest advocates of measures tending to restrain such contributions, especially on the part of corporations. Those who represent interests of stockholders, or who are themselves stockholders, in corporations have perhaps most keenly recognized the menace of such increasing exactions. It is true that nothing need be added to the present legal rights of the stockholder, a single stockholder having already a complete right of action in case of expenditure of any portion of corporate funds for political purposes. Owing in part to the present difficulties of obtaining necessary information, individual stockholders have rarely been disposed to vindicate their rights. The enforcement of publicity by Federal and State laws will assist in bringing stockholders' suits.

Those who best know the danger lead in pointing out the practical avenues of escape. Unlike almost all other reform movements, this one has its origin among politicians. It starts in the very centre of politics. Usually, the reformer encounters objections arising out of the experience of those charged with party responsibilities.

Jackson, Democrat of Democrats, in his contest with the Bank of the United States, first recognized as an issue the threatened domination of national politics by corporate influences, and conquered, in what Professor Sumner in his Life of Jackson calls "one of the greatest struggles between democracy and the money power." The elements of that historic controversy seem now to be gathering for renewed conflict, but it is idle to attempt to identify the present movement, essentially non-partisan in its nature and national in its extent, with either of the great political parties.

Close upon the heels of the Presidential campaign of 1892, in which, it is known, millions were expended on both sides, Mr. Root, speaking in the New York Constitutional Convention of 1894, in reference to the proposed incorporation into the State Constitution of an amendment relative to Corrupt Practices, said (Revised Record, Vol. III, page 877):

"The object of this provision is to . . . require the Legislature to say what money may be used to procure the election of a candidate. Until that is done, there is absolutely no limit to the corruption, no limit to the purchase of votes, no limit to the improper influence of votes, or of parties, or of party men. . . .

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"That is a very small step in the direction of the Corrupt Practices Act in force in England, which has worked such admirable results. . . . If you enumerate the ways in which money may be used, . . . and then confine candidates for office, party committees, party agents, the agents of candidates, to those uses, and, as a penalty for any knowing departure from those limitations, forfeit the office, you will have a very different state of affairs in respect to what . . . has become one of the great and crying evils of our politics. . . . The use of money has come to such a pass at the hands of both of the great political parties in this country that we find enormous contributions necessary to maintain party machinery, to conduct party warfare, and the effect is that great moneyed interests, corporate and personal, are exerting yearly more and more undue influence in political affairs, . . . and political parties are every year contracting greater debts to the men who can furnish the money to perform the necessary functions of party warfare."

The amendment reported from the Judiciary Committee was as follows:

"Article 2 is hereby amended by adding the following sections:

"Sec. 6. The Legislature shall, by general laws, declare the uses which may be lawfully made of money or other valuable things by, or on behalf of, any person, to promote his nomination as a candidate for public office, and by or on behalf of a candidate to promote his election.

"The use or promise of money or other valuable thing to promote the nomination for, or election to, public office of any person otherwise than is expressly authorized by law, is prohibited, and the person by whom or for whose benefit, with his consent, connivance or procurement, the same is so used or promised, if elected, shall forfeit his office.

"Sec. 7. No corporation shall directly or indirectly use any of its money or property for, or in aid of, any political party or organization, or for, or in aid of, any candidate for political office or for nomination for such office, or in any manner use any of its money or property for any political purpose whatever, or for the reimbursement or indemnification of any person for moneys or property so used."

The third reading of the amendment was ordered by a vote of 72 to 21, but it did not pass, mainly because, power being already lodged in the Legislature, it was unnecessary to incorporate in the Constitution of the State what was practically a statute.

Mr. Root, referring to the proposed restriction of corporate contributions, said:

"I think some qualification would have to be inserted, otherwise the general language would apply to such corporations as those which publish newspapers. . . . The idea is to prevent . . . the great railroad com-

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panies, the great insurance companies, the great telephone companies, the great aggregations of wealth, from using their corporate funds, directly or indirectly, to send members of the Legislature to these halls in order to vote for their protection and the advancement of their interests as against those of the public. It strikes at a constantly growing evil which has done more to shake the confidence of the plain people of small means of this country in our political institutions than any other practice which has ever obtained since the foundation of our government. And I believe that the time has come when something ought to be done to put a check to the giving of $50,000 or $100,000 by a great corporation toward political purposes, upon the understanding that a debt is created from a political party to it. . . . I apprehend that many corporations, which are now called upon before every election to contribute large sums of money to campaign funds, would find in an absolute prohibition, with the penalty of the forfeiture of their charters, a reason why they should not make such contributions. I think it will be a protection to corporations and to candidates against demands upon them, and a protection to the people against the payment of consideration for contributions by them, to the injury of the representation of the people. It is, I repeat, because of the difficulty of proving and punishing the crime of buying votes that some other measures seem to be desirable" (p. 897).

President Jackson, in a communication to his cabinet in 1833 condemning the use of the funds of the Bank in its attempt to secure a renewal of its charter, said:

"Having taken these preliminary steps to obtain control over public opinion, the Bank came into Congress and asked a new charter. The object avowed by many of the advocates of the Bank was to *put the President to the test*, that the country might know his final determination relative to the Bank prior to the ensuing election. Many documents and articles were printed and circulated at the expense of the Bank to bring the people to a favorable decision upon its pretensions. Those whom the Bank appears to have made its debtors for the special occasion were warned of the ruin which awaited them should the President be sustained, and attempts were made to alarm the whole people by painting the depression in the price of property and produce and the general loss, inconvenience and distress which it was represented would immediately follow the reelection of the President in opposition to the Bank."—"Messages and Papers of the Presidents," Vol. III, p. 6.

The president of the Bank was, by resolution of its directors, "authorized to cause to be prepared and circulated such documents and papers as may communicate to the people information in regard to the nature and operations of the bank." The expenditures purporting to have been made under the authority

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of such resolution were about $80,000, including the purchase of some 100,000 copies of newspapers, reports and speeches made in Congress. The government directors of the Bank having called for a specific account of these expenditures, the board renewed the power already conferred and, by resolution, authorized its president "to continue his exertions for the promotion of said object." Referring to this propaganda, Jackson said in the message above quoted:

"The Bank is thus converted into a vast electioneering engine. . . .

"And the money which belongs to the stockholders and to the public has been freely applied in efforts to degrade in public estimation those who were supposed to be instrumental in resisting the wishes of this grasping and dangerous institution.

"The refusal to render an account of the manner in which a part of the money expended has been applied gives just cause for the suspicion that it has been used for purposes which it is not deemed prudent to expose to the eyes of an intelligent and virtuous people. Those who act justly do not shun the light, nor do they refuse explanations when the propriety of their conduct is brought into question."

In his fifth annual message, Jackson said:

"The question is distinctly presented, whether the people of the United States are to govern through representatives chosen by their unbiassed suffrages, or whether the money and power of a great corporation are to be secretly exerted to influence their judgment and control their decisions. It must now be determined whether the Bank shall have its candidates for all offices in the country, from the highest to the lowest, or whether candidates on both sides of political questions shall be brought forward as heretofore and supported by the usual means."

Again the relation of the money of corporations to party organizations and the ballot has become an issue, but we now approach it in a more tolerant spirit than that animating the contentions of an earlier period. In the recent Presidential campaign, it awakened a recognition by both the leading candidates of its extent and of its consequent dangers. The necessity for remedial legislation has since found expression in the following recommendations of the President's message:

"The power of the Government to protect the integrity of the elections of its own officials is inherent, and has been recognized and affirmed by repeated declarations of the Supreme Court. There is no enemy of free government more dangerous and none so insidious as the corruption of the electorate. No one defends or excuses corruption, and it would seem to fol-

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low that none would oppose vigorous measures to eradicate it. I recommend the enactment of a law directed against bribery and corruption in Federal elections. The details of such a law may be safely left to the wise discretion of the Congress, but it should go as far as under the Constitution it is possible to go, and should include severe penalties against him who gives or receives a bribe intended to influence his act or opinion as an elector; and provision for the publication, not only of the expenditures for nominations and elections of all candidates, *but also of all contributions received and expenditures made by political committees.*"

III.

Therefore, upon the highest and best authority, it is evident that something should be done. Facts are more persuasive in an appeal to public opinion than the most powerful argument, especially upon a subject about which almost every one has views, more or less well founded.

American patriotism is a living reality, and finds expression during national Presidential elections. However great the prosperity of the United States, sentiment and ideals are in the end the most controlling forces. There is on that account a good deal of sensitiveness in regard to our electoral practices rather than to our electoral system, but the resulting criticism is a healthy one and does not mean, to those who understand it, that politics in America are more corrupt or less inspiring than in other countries; but it does mean that the American people insist that their politics shall be less corrupt and more inspiring. Conditions here prevailing demand that we seek in our own historical experience guidance to determine the way to further effectual progress. The principle at the foundation of American political institutions is essentially that of individualism and self-direction.

IV.

To guide us in the solution of the problem, there are abundant legislative precedents. Fifteen States have, since 1890, adopted so-called "Corrupt Practices Acts" to restrain and limit rapidly increasing campaign contributions and expenditures.

The first of these laws was enacted in New York in 1890. It defined such practices in some detail, but was very ineffective, requiring merely reports of the expenditures of candidates, there being no regulation or limitation concerning expenditures by political committees.

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The Corrupt Practices laws passed in the following year by Colorado (Laws 1891, p. 167) and Michigan (Laws 1891, Chap. 190) followed very closely the New York Act in its definition of corrupt practices, adding a requirement that *party committees must also report all receipts and expenditures for campaign purposes.*

In 1892, Michigan enacted a much more elaborate statute, making provision not only that campaign committees should *report their receipts and expenditures,* and regulating the details of the accounts of such committees, but that *all expenditures on behalf of candidates,* with few exceptions, must be *made through the party committees.* Proper provisions were also made for the enforcement of the act.

This law went further in the direction of the English Corrupt Practices Act of 1883 than any of the other statutes above mentioned. Owing to conditions incident to our political system, and particularly in view of the number of candidates voted for at the same time and upon the same ticket, it is impossible to follow closely the English law.

The Massachusetts law, which went into effect on August 1st, 1892, is entitled, "An act to prevent corrupt practices at elections, and to provide *for publicity in election expenses.*"

It permitted a candidate to spend, without restriction except as to certain personal expenses, any sum of money to secure his nomination or election, provided that the expenditures be effected through a political committee.

The Massachusetts law defines political committees as including "every committee or combination of three or more persons who shall aid or promote the success or defeat of a political party or principle in a public election, or shall aid or take part in the nomination, election or defeat of a candidate for public office." It further provides that every individual who, "otherwise than under the authority and in behalf of a political committee, receives or disburses money for any of the above-named purposes, shall be subject to the requirements of the act, the same as a political committee or its treasurer." Every such committee is required to have a treasurer, who must, within thirty days after an election, if the total receipts or expenditures of the committee exceed twenty dollars, file a sworn statement, "*setting forth all the receipts, expenditures, disbursements and liabilities of the*

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committee and of every officer or other person acting under its authority and in its behalf." The vouchers must state the particulars of expense in respect to every payment over five dollars. Expenditures for certain objects, specified in the Act, such as stationery, postage, telegrams and other similar expenses personally incurred by a candidate need not be included in his statement.

The effect of this law is to secure almost complete *publicity and public record in respect to expenditures for the nomination and election of candidates.* Political committees are forbidden to solicit contribution from candidates, who, however, may "make a voluntary payment of money . . . for the promotion of the principles of the party which the committee represents, and for the general purposes of the committee." This provision is directed against the practice of political assessments.

A violation of the provisions of the law is punishable by a fine not exceeding $1,000, and in certain cases with the alternative of imprisonment for not more than one year. Any person, upon the petition of any candidate voted for, or of any five qualified voters, may be compelled to file a correct and proper statement by the courts.

In the year following the passage of the Massachusetts law, the Legislatures of California (Laws 1893, Chap. II) and Missouri (Laws 1893, p. 157) passed corrupt practices laws, which went a step in advance of the Massachusetts statute. In California, the expenditures by or for a candidate were limited; and by the Missouri law a maximum was placed upon the total expenditure of a candidate directly or through committees. The California law was prepared with special care, and is more detailed in its provisions than that of perhaps any other State. In both Missouri and California, and in Kansas, reports of both candidates and committees are required.

The Kansas statute (Laws 1893, Chap. 777, repealed 1903) was very similar to that of Missouri, with the exception that there was no restriction upon the maximum amount of expenditure permitted. The extension of this class of legislation from 1892 to 1895 was very rapid. In the latter year, six States, in addition to the seven already mentioned, adopted legislation requiring publicity in respect to campaign expenses. The Arizona law (Laws 1895, Chap. 20) and that of North Carolina (Laws 1895, Chap.

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157) were not so advanced in their provisions as the Missouri law, resembling rather the comparatively ineffective New York law. The Arizona statute, however, contains a provision similar to that of Colorado, requiring that party committees as well as candidates shall report campaign receipts and expenses.

A law passed in Kentucky (Chap. 338) retained the general features of the Massachusetts law, but omitted much of the detail to be found in the latter act.

Nevada (Laws 1895, Chap. 103) copied the California law, with slight changes in respect to the maximum of expenditures permitted, which was somewhat lower. This statute, however, has been since repealed (Laws 1899, Chap. 103).

The Michigan statute, which has been referred to as comparatively deficient and ineffective, was repealed in 1901 (Chap. 61).

The Montana law passed in 1895 (Penal Code 1895, Sec. 80 ff) follows the Massachusetts law, but imposes limitations upon the personal expenses and upon the contributions of candidates.

The Minnesota law of that year (Laws 1895, Chap. 277), which in substance follows the Missouri statute, was in one respect the most complete that had been adopted at that time. The following very detailed definition of legitimate expenses following the practice of the English act was made:

"1. For the personal travelling expenses of the candidate.

"2. For the rent of hall or rooms for the delivery of speeches relative to principles or candidates in any pending election, and for the renting of chairs and other furniture properly necessary to fit such halls or rooms for use for such purposes.

"3. For the payment of public speakers and musicians at public meetings, and their necessary travelling expenses.

"4. Printing and distribution of lists of candidates or sample tickets, speeches or addresses, by pamphlets, newspapers or circulars relative to candidates or political issues, cards, handbills, posters or announcements.

"5. For challengers at the polls at elections.

"6. For copying and classification of polling lists.

"7. For making canvasses of voters.

"8. For postage, telegraph, telephone or other public messenger service.

"9. For clerk hire at the headquarters or office of such committee.

"10. For conveying infirm or disabled voters to and from the polls."

In 1896, Utah and Ohio were added to the rapidly growing list of States that had adopted more or less satisfactory corrupt

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practices acts. The Utah act (Laws 1896, Chap. 56) merely required that candidates and committees report their election expenditures.

The Ohio law (Laws of 1896, p. 123) was known as the Garfield Corrupt Practices Act. It provided that the candidate's expenditures should be limited to $100 for five thousand voters or less, but should not exceed $650 in any case. Its provisions were also applicable to candidates before conventions or primaries, as well as before elections. Political committees were defined, and were required to have a treasurer, who, as well as every person receiving or disbursing money aggregating more than $20, was required to keep detailed accounts, a statement of which, including receipts and expenditures, must be filed with the county clerk. The office of a successful candidate found guilty of violation of the act could be declared vacant at any time during the incumbency of the offending person. The chief defect in this law was that it contained no definition of legitimate or illegitimate expenses. It was especially elaborate, containing several novel features, and its repeal in 1902 (Laws of Ohio, p. 77) may be regarded as the most important of the few reverses which the movement for the general adoption of corrupt practices acts has yet suffered. The only State to pass such a law in 1897 was Wisconsin (Laws of 1897, Chap. 358). This act defined offences against the suffrage, required reports of expenditures by candidates and committees, and restricted the purposes of such expenditures.

A very important innovation, which was adopted in each of the States of Tennessee, Florida and Nebraska in 1897, independently of other provisions relating to corrupt practices, was the absolute prohibition of contributions by corporations to parties or candidates.

In 1897 (Laws of 1897, Chap. 185), the provision of the North Carolina Corrupt Practices Act for reporting expenses was repealed.

In 1898, no new measures concerning elections, of substantial importance, were passed; legislation in that respect being limited to minor details or the codification of existing measures.

In 1899, Nebraska perfected its law of 1897 and was added to the list of States adopting corrupt practices acts (Laws of 1899, Chap. 29), but Nevada repealed its law in that year.

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In 1903, corrupt practices laws were passed in Vermont and Virginia. The latter statute (Sec. 145a, Code, 1904) prohibits the expenditure of money in any election, primary or nominating convention, for purposes other than of printing or advertising in newspapers, or in securing suitable halls for public speaking. It requires every person who shall be a candidate before any caucus or convention, or at any primary or other election, to file a statement in writing, "setting forth in detail all sums of money contributed, disbursed, expended or promised by him, and to the best of his knowledge and belief by any person or persons in his behalf . . . showing the dates when and the persons to whom, and the purposes for which, all such sums were paid, expended or promised."

It is further provided that, in case of a violation of the law, the election of the offending candidate shall be void, unless, contest being made, it appears that the contestant is entitled to the office. No person shall enter upon the duties of any elective office until the required statement shall have been filed.

The passage of laws insuring publicity in connection with expenditures in elections was strongly recommended in the last annual message of the Governor of West Virginia.

It appears, therefore, that at least fifteen States have adopted corrupt practices acts, and that in several States contributions by corporations to political campaign funds are prohibited. The first corrupt practices act requiring publicity of candidates' expenditures was passed in 1890, and in 1897 corporations were for the first time prohibited from making campaign contributions; so the development of the law on this subject must be considered exceptionally rapid and satisfactory. It seems probable that in their operations such laws, by curtailing the amounts expended in campaigns, have proved obnoxious to a certain type of professional politicians. In the few cases where they have been repealed, interests adversely affected by them were enabled to take advantage of temporary and purely local conditions, in overruling a comparatively unorganized public sentiment.

At the time of the repeal of the Ohio (Garfield) law, Mr. James R. Garfield, its author, said he had hoped the Legislature would amend rather than repeal it. A few of its provisions were unnecessary and could easily have been cut out of the bill. An amendment favored by Mr. Garfield had been prepared, but it

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was defeated. Even township officers elected without the expenditure of money were compelled to make statements; these and other slight defects in the law encouraged a determined effort on the part of certain politicians to discredit its operations. In Springfield, the Mayor was ousted from office on account of the operation of its provisions, and a Probate Judge lost his office. Mr. Garfield believed that "it put a check upon the wholesale spending of money in campaigns." It was an excellent law and should have been continued in an amended form. It was plainly constitutional and had been thoroughly tested in every point by the Supreme Court of the State.

The inception, the development, the retarding the progress and effect of these laws resemble closely the circumstances and the beneficial results attending the ultimate triumph of the Civil Service laws.

The English Corrupt and Illegal Practice Prevention Act (46 and 47 Victoria, ch. 51) has influenced the course of legislation in this country, embodying in substance, first, a strict limitation on the amount which can be expended in furtherance of the election of a Member of Parliament; second, the manner in which such funds may be expended; and, third, publicity as to the sources and disbursements of the funds so employed.

A candidate may act as his own election agent, but the almost universal practice is to appoint some one, usually a solicitor, and often a non-resident of the borough for which the candidate is standing, to assume entire charge of the expenditures.

Upon the election agent is reposed the responsibility of the appointment of every polling agent, clerk and messenger employed on behalf of the candidate at an election, and the hiring of every committee-room used in the campaign.

The Act further provides:

"28.—Except as permitted by or in pursuance of this act, no payment . . . shall be made by a candidate at an election or by any agent on behalf of the candidate *or by any other person at any time, whether before, during or after such election*, in respect of any expenses incurred on account of or in respect of the conduct or management of such election otherwise than by or through the election agent . . . and all money provided by any person other than the candidate for any expenses incurred on account of or in respect of the conduct or management of the election, whether in gift, loan, advance or deposit, shall be paid to the candidate or his election agent and not otherwise."

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Every payment made by an election agent, or a sub-agent, must, except where less than forty shillings, be vouched for by a bill stating the particulars and by a receipt.

Another instance of the drastic nature of the Act is the prohibition against treating, or the giving of any entertainment to voters, during the period of the canvass, it being provided, Chap. 41, Sec. 1:

"(1) *Any person* who corruptly

By himself By any other person	either before, during or after an election	directly, indirectly,	gives, provides, pays wholly or in part the expense of giving or providing	meat, drink, entertainment, provision	to or for any person,

for the purpose of influencing any vote, or

"On account of such person or any other person having voted or refrained from voting or being about to vote or refrain from voting at such election shall be guilty of treating,"

which, as above defined, is made a corrupt practice within the meaning of the act.

Contributions for charitable purposes subsequent to the public announcement of the candidate's intention to stand for a borough, is also discouraged by the operation of the act.

The act limits the personal expenses of candidates to 100 pounds, of which a statement must be made to the agent. It prohibits any payment for the hiring of horses, carriages or for railway fares, or to an elector for the use of any house, land, building or premises for the exhibition of any address, bill or notice, or on account of committee-rooms in excess of a stipulated number.

The act limits the number of persons who may be legally employed by a candidate as deputy election agents, polling clerks, messengers, clerks, etc., in proportion to the number of electors in the borough or county for which the candidate stands.

Expenses in respect to miscellaneous matters other than those enumerated in a schedule forming part of the act, may not exceed in the whole the maximum sum of £200. The maximum expenditure in a borough, for all purposes other than personal ex-

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penses and sums paid to the returning officer for his charges, is limited in proportion to the number of electors on the register. The maximum of expenditure is £330, in case the number of electors on the register exceeds 2,000, and for every complete 1,000 electors above 2,000 an additional £30. In a county, the maximum expenses, if the number of electors on the register does not exceed 2,000, is £650 in England and Scotland, and £500 in Ireland; if the number of electors exceeds 2,000, the maximum is £710 in England and Scotland, and £540 in Ireland, and an additional £60 in England and Scotland, and £40 in Ireland, for every complete 1,000 electors above 2,000.

Clause F of Sec. 33 provides that a statement must be made of all subscriptions received by the election agent for any purpose, on account of the conduct or management of the election, with a statement of the name of every person from whom the same has been received.

This clause insures the fullest publicity in respect to any contributions made to a Parliamentary campaign fund.

V.

The legislation of so many States, thus reviewed, has heretofore possessed local rather than national significance, and has followed a recognition of evils peculiar to those States. Conditions prevailing in Presidential campaigns have now made the problem national.

The Constitution provides that each State shall appoint Presidential electors in such manner as its Legislature shall direct. While, therefore, in theory it may be contended that the choice of Presidential electors is a State function, elections at which they are chosen are held at the same time as the Congressional elections, have become Federal in character and, as such, the subject of Federal regulation. The express powers of Congress to effect such regulations are derived from the fourth section of the first article of the Constitution:

"The times, places, and manner of holding all elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations except as to the place of choosing Senators."

While the authority of the State and national governments is concurrent, that of the latter is paramount. Congress can adopt

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any means, qualification or regulation which the States have enacted, including provisions designed to insure the publicity and limitation of expenditures in connection with Congressional elections.

It cannot be doubted that Congress may assume the entire control of the election of representatives and this power, as declared by the Supreme Court, "necessarily involves the appointment . . . of the officers for holding the election . . . and every other matter relating to this subject" (100 U. S. 396); and, as declared by Mr. Justice Miller, "Congress can by law protect the act of voting, the place where it is done, and the man who votes from personal violence or intimidation, *and the election itself from corruption*" (110 U. S., 661).

It is, moreover, equally clear that Congress has complete and paramount jurisdiction over the choice of Presidential electors, provided that Congressional representatives are also chosen at the same election.

Referring to the power of Congress to regulate the election of its members, the Supreme Court said:

> "If this be so, and it is not doubted, are such powers annulled because an election for State officers is held at the same time and place? Is it any less important that the election of members of Congress should be the free choice of all the electors because State officers are to be elected at the same time?"—110 U. S., 661.

It has been held by the Supreme Court (127 U. S., 731) that it is not necessary to prove that an act, relating to the conduct of an election at which a Congressman is chosen, was committed with "the specific intent or design to influence the Congressional election." The Supreme Court further held that "the object to be attained by these acts of Congress is to guard against the *danger,* and the *opportunity,*" of committing objectionable acts "as well as against direct and intentional frauds upon the vote for members of that body," and that the power of Congress can be invoked whenever such election is "*exposed* or *subjected* . . . to the *opportunity* . . . or to the *danger*" of such acts "as may affect that election, *whether they actually do so or not.*"

It would not therefore be possible to evade the operation of a Federal statute prohibiting the secret contribution or expenditure of money in connection with any election at which a Congressman may be chosen, on the pretence that there was an absence of

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intent to influence the Congressional election, or that the contributions or expenditures were directed solely to secure the election of Presidential electors or State officers.

It is sufficient that the prohibited act should create a "danger" or "opportunity" of improperly influencing the election. As declared by the Supreme Court in the case last quoted:

"There are many instances when an act may be criminal in its character without there being a criminal intent. . . .

"The case before us is eminently one of this character. Crimes against the ballot have become so numerous and so serious that the attention of all legislative bodies has been turned with anxious solicitude to the means of preventing them, and to the object of securing purity in elections and accuracy in the returns by which their result is ascertained. The acts of Congress and of the State of Indiana now under consideration are of this class, . . . and to say that the . . . want of an intention on the part of persons who are alleged to have acted feloniously in the violation of those laws, excuses them because they did not intend to violate their provisions *as to all the persons voted for at such an election,* although they might have intended to affect the result as regards some of them, is manifestly contrary to common sense and is not supported by any sound authority,"—127 U. S., 755.

An indictment under the Federal statutes for illegal voting and for bribery has been upheld, although it was not charged that the ballot cast contained the name of a person voted for for representative in Congress, *nor that the bribe was given with the intent to influence the voter in respect to the Congressional election:*

"When Congressional and local elections are held at the same time and places, and mixed ballots are cast, as is the practice in Indiana, it is a misleading refinement, I think, to say that there are two elections —a national and a State—held at the same time. It is one election, for the conduct of which the two sovereignties have a common concern, though interested in several results (*Ex parte* Siebold, 100 U. S., 371); and Congress having unquestionably the paramount, and, when it sees fit to assert it, the exclusive, power to regulate such elections, must, in the first instance at least, determine for itself what regulations are necessary or expedient; and it is not the province of the courts to restrict or annul any enactment on the subject, on the ground that it is not within the powers of Congress, unless it be demonstrable that *in no event, and under no circumstances,* the offence defined, and coming within the letter and spirit of the enactment, could affect the election for representatives in Congress. . . . It is manifest that regulations and restrictions which permitted inquiry, whether the offender in such re-

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spects intended to intimidate or influence the conduct of voters in respect to one office or another, would be inefficient, because easily evaded. Once concede that the indictment for bribery of a voter, in order to be good under the Federal statute, must charge an attempt to affect the Congressional election, and the speedy result will be, not less bribery in respect to that election, but more likely a large increase, contrived and conducted in such way as to prevent proof of the real purpose, by pretences of different purposes."—(29 Fed. Rep., 898-9.)

The purport of legislation requiring publicity in respect to campaign expenditures is to secure the freedom of elections from improper influences. To this end, the indirect restraints of the Corrupt Practices Acts are more effectual than the direct prohibitions and penalties of statutes, Federal or State, penalizing bribery.

The adequacy of existing laws to punish one proved guilty of bribery may be admitted as a general proposition. That specific legislation of this nature has not proved effective to protect the free exercise of the franchise from the undue influence of campaign expenditures must also be admitted. It is a crime which is not readily susceptible of direct proof. The remedy sought in the statutes already cited and in the suggested Federal legislation is rather one of prevention by indirection. It is the limitation and regulation of the possible sources and agencies of corruption which is of primary practical importance. The chief inducement to bribery must be removed by throwing safeguards about the present irresponsible use of campaign funds. The chief remedy proposed by such legislation is publicity, not purely police or penal regulation of the grosser forms of bribery.

It can not be successfully contended that Congress has not constitutional power to insure, by enforcing publicity, an end which in the exercise of its undoubted authority it has sought to reach by more direct but less effective legislation.

The Supreme Court has declared:

"If this government is anything more than a mere aggregation of delegated agents of other States and governments, each of which is superior to the general government, it must have the power to protect the elections on which its existence depends from violence and corruption. . . .

"If this be so, and it is not doubted, are such powers annulled because an election for State officers is held at the same time and place? Is it any less important that the election of members of Congress should

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be the free choice of all the electors, because State officers are to be elected at the same time?

"In a republican government, like ours, where political power is reposed in representatives of the entire body of the people, chosen at short intervals by popular elections, the temptations to control these elections by violence and by corruption are a constant source of danger.

"If the government of the United States has within its constitutional domain no authority to provide against these evils, if the very sources of power may be poisoned by corruption or controlled by violence and outrage, without legal restraint, then, indeed, is the country in danger, and its best powers, its highest purposes, the hopes which it inspires, and the love which enshrines it, are at the mercy of the combinations of those who respect no right but brute force, on the one hand, and unprincipled corruptionists, on the other." (110 U. S., p. 661.)

Upon all existing precedent and authority, a Federal statute forbidding the secret expenditure of money to influence an election at which a Congressman is to be chosen, would be valid and effectual to compel publicity in respect to all expenditures tending to influence the election of *any* candidate at such election. This would include Presidential electors. A large number of the States having already required publicity of expenditures by political State committees, Congress may, on such initiative, require of political committees engaged in promoting the election of Presidential and Congressional candidates a similar publicity, such elections being held at the same time.

VI.

Concurrent enactments could be adopted in the several States, in accordance with the encouraging tendency of the legislation of the fifteen States already enumerated.

It is especially incumbent upon the State of New York, having, in 1890, taken the initiative in this form of legislation, to at once supplement its deficient and ineffective law. New York, an important centre of political activity in national campaigns, should place itself in line with the most advanced legislation of other States. Owing to the failure of the New York statute to require any statement from political or campaign committees, it is possible to avoid publicity in respect to expenditures for any amount or for any purposes. If an irresponsible committee and not the candidate can be made the medium of disbursements, evasion of the existing law is invited. Should publicity be required of com-

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mittees, under penalty of forfeiture of office and other effective punishments, such as are provided in several States, the New York law would be rendered operative.

VII.

Should publicity of expenditures by political committees have the effect of reducing campaign contributions, political machinery and party efficiency would not be harmed. The reduction would cut off the camp followers, whose slight party affiliations serve no other purpose than to give occasion for utterly useless and extravagant expenditures. A political organization cannot be too perfect to be effective, but managers of national, State and local committees have often experienced the injury caused by the employment of unnecessary campaign funds, absorbing and diverting from their normal and more effective functions the vital energies of political leadership.

Party organizations are essential to party government; their importance and usefulness in our political system should be fully recognized. They can not be maintained without the expenditure needed in legitimate and honest politics, but no popular organization, commanding a sufficient amount of interest among its followers, will suffer permanent disability because of limitations and restraints upon contributions and expenditures. The great denominational religious organizations of this country are supported in great part by small contributions. When political organizations are sustained by the large subscriptions of the few, their activities become paralyzed by the development of a spirit of dependence on the few.

Voters should be informed by unrestricted and general diffusion of facts and arguments pertinent to the issues before the country. The great mass of voters reach their conclusions with little assistance from the instrumentalities toward which campaign expenses are too often directed. Newspapers and periodicals are a more effective educational force than tons of pamphlets usually distributed during elections.

Voters depend upon the great parties to frame issues to command their support, and to nominate properly qualified candidates. If a party organization does not prove equal to this task, it is a matter of small moment that it succeeds in raising large sums, or in perfecting a machine that absorbs and distracts the major

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portion of the political activity at the command of the party.

Contributions by corporations should be restricted. The freedom of individuals to contribute according to their means and inclinations to party organizations need not be interfered with by legislation. There is, however, no inherent individual right to secrecy in respect to activities influencing the great court of public opinion, which, as the result of each national election, passes upon the rights and property of all. The turning on of the light cannot be deemed an unconstitutional increase of Federal or State control.

PERRY BELMONT.

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THE SPANISH TREATY CLAIMS.

BY CRAMMOND KENNEDY.

By article VII of the Treaty of Peace with Spain it was provided that:

"The United States and Spain mutually relinquish all claims for indemnity, national and individual, of every kind, of either Government, or of its citizens or subjects, against the other Government, that may have arisen since the beginning of the late insurrection in Cuba and prior to the exchange of ratifications of the present treaty, including all claims for indemnity for the cost of the War.

"The United States will adjudicate and settle the claims of its citizens against Spain relinquished in this article."

These individual claims of citizens of the United States "of every kind," which were thus relinquished as against Spain, and the adjudication and settlement of which were assumed by our Government, were described by the Secretary of State, Mr. Day, in his note of July 30th, 1898, to the Duke of Almodovar, Prime Minister of Spain, as "*the claims of our citizens for injuries to their persons and property during the late insurrection in Cuba.*" In defining the conditions of peace, Mr. Day said that, to these individual claims, as well as to the losses and expenses of the United States incident to the war, the President could not be insensible, and that he must, *therefore,* require the cession to the United States, and the immediate evacuation by Spain, of the island of Porto Rico and other islands then under the sovereignty of Spain in the West Indies, and also the cession of an island in the Ladrones to be selected by the United States. He added:

"On *similar grounds* the United States is entitled to occupy and will hold the city, bay and harbor of Manila, pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace which shall determine the control, disposition and government of the Philippines."[1]

[1] Treaty Papers, Doc. No. 62, Part 1, Sen., 55th Cong., 3rd Sess., p. 274.

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By this the Duke of Almodovar understood, as he said in his reply of August 7th, 1898, to Mr. Day, that "the question at stake is no longer only the one which relates to the territory of Cuba, but also that *the losses of American lives and fortunes incident to the war should in some manner be compensated.*"

"They accept the proffered terms," said the Duke, speaking for the Spanish Government, "subject to the approval of the Cortes of the Kingdom, as required by their constitutional duties."[1]

The claims in question, as filed with the Commission, within the statutory limits, since its organization in April, 1901, amount in round figures to sixty million dollars. They include damages for personal injuries, such as illegal imprisonment, cruel treatment, and expulsion from the island, but are mainly for the destruction by fire of the cane-fields, dwellings, docks, tramways, buildings and machinery used in the manufacture of sugar, for the enforced stoppage of grinding, and for the loss of cattle during the promiscuous devastation practised by both parties, and the "reconcentration" enforced by General Weyler. Some of the claims have been stated with moderation; but it is safe to say that the actual and direct damages will not aggregate more than one-half of the amount claimed.

In all the negotiations at Paris which followed the Protocol of August 12th, 1898, these individual claims were invariably described in general terms, with never a suggestion that there was any difference, or that any distinction should ever be made, between the injuries inflicted on our citizens by the Cuban insurgents and those inflicted directly by the authorities or forces of Spain. In article IV of the treaty, as proposed by the Spanish Peace Commissioners, pending the negotiations at Paris, the stipulated cession of territory was declared to be made by Spain "as compensation for the losses and expenses occasioned the United States by the war, and *for the claims of its citizens by reason of the injuries and damages they may have suffered in their persons and property during the last insurrection in Cuba.*" The purpose of this declaration, as expressed in the protocol, was "to leave on record *the reason of the cession.*"[2]

[1] Treaty Papers, Doc. No. 62, Part 1, Sen., 55th Cong., 3d Sess., pp. 275, 276.

[2] Treaty Papers, Doc. No. 62, Part 1, Sen., 55th Cong., 3d Sess., pp. 58, 92.

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"It is quite certain," said the Spanish Commissioners, after citing Mr. Day's note of July 30th, 1898, to the Duke of Almodovar, "that the American Commission will agree with the Spanish Commission in the advisability of preventing the United States from being shown in the treaty as acquiring gratuitously the said islands."[1] To this, the President of the American Commission replied that "the American Commissioners did not mean to be understood that it should not appear in some proper form in the treaty that the cession of Porto Rico and the other islands above referred to *was* on account of *indemnity for the losses and injuries of American citizens*"; and that "this view had been expressed in the note addressed to the Spanish Government containing the demand of the President of the United States, and the American Commissioners recognized the force and meaning of that demand."[2]

Those individual injuries and losses, for which the United States in this manner obtained compensation from Spain, were incidental to the conditions which had prevailed in Cuba, and for the existence of which the United States had held that Spain was responsible, and for the termination of which, when they could no longer be endured, the United States had made war against Spain and expelled her from the island. "The fire of the insurrection," said the President in his special message of April 11th, 1898, to Congress, "may flame or may smolder with varying seasons; but it has not been, and it is plain that it cannot be, extinguished by present methods."[3]

What those methods were he had made clear in an earlier part of his message, when he said:

"The policy of devastation and concentration inaugurated by the Captain-General's *bando* of October 21st, 1896, in the Province of Pinar del Rio, was thence extended to embrace all of the island to which the power of the Spanish arms was able to reach by occupation or by military operations. The peasantry, including all dwelling in the open agricultural interior, were driven into the garrison towns or isolated places held by the troops.

"The raising and movement of provisions of all kinds were interdicted. The fields were laid waste, dwellings unroofed and fired, mills destroyed, and, in short, everything that could desolate the land and

[1] Treaty Papers, Doc. No. 62, Part 1, Sen., 55th Cong., 3d Sess., p. 92.
[2] *Ib.*, p. 95.
[3] Richardson's "Presidents' Messages," Vol. X, p. 150.

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render it unfit for human habitation or support was commanded by one or other of the contending parties and executed by all the powers at their disposal."

Further on in the same message, the President said:

"Reconcentration adopted avowedly as a war measure in order to cut off the resources of the insurgents, worked its predestined result. As I said in my message of last December, it was not civilized warfare; it was extermination. The only peace it could beget was that of the wilderness and the grave."[1]

Hence the President's conclusion:

"The only hope of relief and repose from a condition which can no longer be endured is the enforced pacification of Cuba."

And hence his appeal to Congress and to Christendom:

"In the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, in behalf of endangered American interests which give us the right and the duty to speak and act, the war in Cuba must stop."

Within a few days, Congress, acting on this message of the President, declared in the joint resolution of April 20th, 1898, that:

"The abhorrent conditions which have existed for more than three years in the island of Cuba so near our own borders have shocked the moral sense of the people of the United States, have been a disgrace to Christian civilization . . . and cannot longer be endured, *as has been set forth by the President of the United States in his message to Congress of April 11th, 1898, upon which the action of Congress was invited.*"

Thereupon and "*therefore*" Congress *resolved:*

"That it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the Government of the United States does hereby demand, that the Government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba, and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.

"That the President of the United States be and he hereby is directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into actual service of the United States the militia of the several States, to such extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect."

[1] Richardson's "Presidents' Messages," Vol. X, p. 141.

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If this attack on the territory, independence and sovereignty of Spain was not justified by her misgovernment in Cuba, it was the most colossal, piratical and hypocritical outrage in history.

Among the grounds and purposes of this war of intervention, as stated by the President in his same message to Congress, which Congress, as we have seen, adopted in express terms, and on which it acted so promptly and peremptorily, were the following:

> "First. In the cause of humanity, to put an end to the barbarities, bloodshed, starvation and horrible miseries now existing there, and which the parties to this conflict are either unwilling or unable to stop or mitigate. . . .
>
> "Second. *We owe it to our citizens in Cuba to afford them that protection and indemnity for life and property which no Government there can or will afford, and, to that end, to terminate the conditions that deprive them of legal protection.*
>
> "Third. The *right to intervene* may be justified by the very serious injury to the commerce, trade and business of our people, and *by the wanton destruction of property and devastation of the island.*"

These, then, being the grounds and purposes of the war of intervention waged by the United States against Spain, it was natural and proper for the United States, when victorious, to demand indemnity, as it did, for the injuries and losses suffered by its citizens during the insurrection in Cuba, as one of the conditions of peace. They had been deprived (in the language of the President) of "legal protection," and their property had been *wantonly* destroyed. But the Commission which has been organized under an act of Congress to adjudicate and settle these claims of our citizens, in accordance with article VII of the Treaty of Peace, has virtually ignored the war of intervention, which is the central and phenomenal fact of the situation, and has put the great bulk of the claims in peril by deciding (as if Spain's responsibility were still an open question) that, under the law of nations, Spain was not liable for the acts of the insurgents, and that concentration and devastation were legitimate war measures. The President of the Commission, the Hon. Wm. E. Chandler, criticises the late President McKinley for his official denunciations of Spanish methods in Cuba as illegitimate and barbarous. "The President," says Mr. Chandler, "had not then seen and probably did not anticipate the concentration and de-

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vastation by United States troops under General Bell in the Philippines."[1]

Mr. Chandler seems to have forgotten that *Congress,* in express terms, adopted President McKinley's message and based its war resolution of April 20th on the abhorrent conditions which had shocked the moral sense of our people and had been a disgrace to Christian civilization, *" as set forth by the President of the United States in his message to Congress of April 11th, 1898, upon which the action of Congress was invited."*

But what, in any view of the subject, has the conduct of the United States in its insular possessions to do with its liability under article VII of the Treaty of Peace? Suppose that, in the course of General Bell's operations and those of " hell-roaring Jake," in the Philippines, the dwellings, and factories and cane-fields of non-combatant British subjects had been given to the flames by the combatants on both sides, and that their atrocities had been so shocking and the resulting anarchy so general that Great Britain had intervened by force of arms and driven the United States out of the islands (as the United States drove Spain out of Cuba), for the avowed purpose of putting an end to such barbarism and securing indemnity for its despoliated subjects; and suppose that, in making peace, Great Britain had exacted indemnity from the United States for such individual losses and injuries, and afterwards had refused to indemnify those very subjects of hers on the ground that, after all, the United States had only been doing what it had a legal right to do in the Philippines, and what Great Britain herself did shortly afterwards in South Africa, what would have been the verdict of the civilized world?

The causes that justify or excuse a war of intervention (and it is rarely that such an invasion of the sovereignty and independence of a nation can be justified or excused) require the exaction of indemnity for its subjects or citizens by the intervening power,

[1] Opinions of the Commissioners, Document No. 25, Sen., 58th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 101.

The rest of this remarkable utterance is as follows: " Possibly if he had supposed that, in addition to arousing just national indignation, in order to bring on war with Spain for the liberation of Cuba, he was announcing a new principle of international law and making a finding of facts which should be conclusive and binding upon United States courts in all future time, he would have withheld or moderated the soul-stirring utterances with which he began a great war for the freedom and independence of a new nation."

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if it is victorious, and if its citizens or subjects were injured by the causes for which it intervened. The United States had no moral right to intervene by force of arms in Cuba unless Spain's misgovernment had resulted in a state of anarchy, or was precipitating such a condition, and unless the sufferings of our citizens, in their persons or property, had become intolerable, or our national interests were otherwise materially injured or placed in jeopardy by the lawlessness prevailing in the island. Having, however, successfully waged a war of intervention and exacted indemnity for individual losses as one of the conditions of peace, it would be simply infamous for the United States to take the position that it is not liable for the indemnification of its citizens, because the grounds on which it intervened by force of arms were false or mistaken, and Spain was all the time within her rights in her insular domain. And yet this is substantially what three of the five Commissioners have decided. And they have so decided on what they suppose to be facts, of which they have taken "judicial notice." For they have not yet considered the evidence which has been taken in the various cases,—evidence which shows (although such proof is unnecessary) that the President and Congress were justified in holding Spain responsible for the existence of the insurrection and for the injuries and losses of our citizens while it continued on the island.

The Commissioners have taken "judicial notice" of a condition or matter of fact which is seriously disputed; "that the insurrection which resulted in such intervention passed from the first beyond the control of Spain."[1] This is tantamount to a decision that the United States should have recognized the belligerency of the insurgents early in the insurrection, as the President of the Commission, when a United States Senator, so strenuously contended; or else that the United States was justified

[1] "That a domestic tribunal, such as the Commission, in its creation and constitution, can take judicial notice that an insurrection which continued throughout several years of fluctuating fortunes, exclusively within foreign territory, which never attained success through its own efforts, where the insurrectionists were refused belligerent rights by both Governments, was beyond control of the titular Government from the moment of its inception, throughout the length and breadth of the country, until a foreign Government steps in and stops the 'barbaric warfare,' is a principle without precedent in jurisprudence so far as I have been able to discover."—Commissioner Chambers's dissenting opinion, Doc. No. 25, Sen., 58th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 185.

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in intervening because Spain had proved unable to govern the island.[1]

But Spain always contended that the insurgents were not entitled to be recognized as belligerents and that she could and would fulfil her international obligations and give full effect to articles VI and VII of her treaty of 1795 with the United States, and upon this contention and pledge, and for other reasons (one of which was the unwillingness of our government to release Spain from responsibility for the acts of the insurgents), the President refrained from recognizing the insurgents as belligerents, although it would have been the duty of the United States, when it appeared that Gomez and his followers were really beyond the power of Spain, either to have recognized them as belligerent and forced them to respect private American property in the island, or to have suppressed them as incendiaries and outlaws.[2]

The Commission has also taken judicial notice of the message of the Executive and the action of Congress upon it in April, 1898, when the war of intervention was declared; but, instead of respecting this sovereign act of the nation, and acknowledging

[1] In President McKinley's opinion, as stated in his war message of April 11th, 1898, to Congress, the time had come, after years of waiting, to make good the warning which had been given to Spain by President Cleveland in his annual message of December, 1896:

"When the inability of Spain to deal successfully with the insurrection has become manifest, and it is demonstrated that her sovereignty is extinct in Cuba for all purposes of its rightful existence, and when a hopeless struggle for its reestablishment has degenerated into a strife which means nothing more than the useless sacrifice of human life and the utter destruction of the very subject matter of the conflict, a situation will be presented in which our obligations to the sovereignty of Spain will be superseded by higher obligations, which we can hardly hesitate to recognize and discharge."—Richardson's "Presidents' Messages," Vol. X, p. 149.

[2] "If Spain was already released from liability for acts of the insurgents by the magic of the 'beyond control' doctrine, it was little less than solemn trifling for our Executive to allege, as a ground against conceding recognition to the Cubans, that such action would release Spain from liability to our citizens for their acts."—Commissioner Maury's dissenting opinion, Doc. No. 25, Sen., 58th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 171.

"The position of neutral governments towards insurgent forces is always a delicate one. If they are not recognized as belligerents by the state against which they are arrayed, the state in question theoretically accepts responsibility for the consequence of their acts in respect of neutral states. A neutral state may be satisfied with this responsibility, or it may recognize the belligerent character of the insurgents. If it does not, however, do so, the insurgent forces cannot exercise rights of war against neutral property without exposing themselves to treatment as outlaws and pirates."—"Ency. Brit.," Vol. XXXIII, 10th ed., article on "War," by Professor Thomas Barclay, p. 751.

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its conclusive authority and its legal effects, as law and public policy require, the majority of the Commission (three to two) have substantially held that the President was mistaken in the grounds on which he recommended intervention by force of arms, and that Congress also was mistaken in adopting the joint resolution of April 20th, 1898, upon the allegations and for the purposes set forth in his message. The Supreme Court has often decided that political questions are not within its jurisdiction and that it is bound in such matters by the action of the proper branch of the Government, legislative or executive, whether that action be right or wrong;[1] but three out of five Commissioners (Messrs. Chandler, Diekema and Wood) have practically decided that, in this instance, the United States is not bound by the joint action of the President and Congress (which is tantamount to saying that it could not bind itself at all), and that it is not its duty to pay over to its injured citizens the indemnity it exacted from Spain expressly for their benefit; and this because it had no right to drive Spain out of Cuba on the ground that she was responsible for the conditions which prevailed in the island, and hence had no right to demand and obtain indemnity for the losses and injuries suffered by our citizens during the insurrection. This is to deny to an accomplished international transaction its appropriate legal effects, and to pass judgment on a political act of the nation.

To say that the United States, having released Spain from these claims and having herself assumed their adjudication and settlement in consideration of a cession of territory, stands in precisely the same position as Spain would have occupied if there had been no such war between the two countries, and if the claims had been referred to a mixed commission at the close of the insurrection, is to ignore the essential facts of the situation and make of no effect the things which have actually been done. For there *was* a war of intervention; it was waged by the United States on the ground that Spain was responsible for the anarchy that prevailed in Cuba, and consequently for the injuries and

[1] Foster *v.* Neilson, 2 Pet. 253, 307, 309; Cherokee Nation *v.* Georgia, 5 Pet. 1, 21; United States *v.* Arredondo, 6 Pet. 691, 710-712; Garcia *v.* Lee, 12 Pet. 511, 517, 519; Williams *v.* Suffolk Ins. Co., 13 Pet. 415, 420; Luther *v.* Borden, 7 How. 1, 55-57; United States *v.* Lynde, 11 Wall. 632, 638; Phillips *v.* Payne, 92 U. S. 130, 132; Coffee *v.* Groover, 123 U. S. 1, 25, 26; Jones *v.* United States, 137 U. S. 202, 212-214; *In re* Cooper, 143 U. S. 472, 503, 504; United States *v.* Texas, 143 U. S. 621, 638, 639.

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losses suffered by citizens of the United States during the insurrection on the island; and, accordingly, when Spain sued for peace, the United States exacted a cession of territory for the express purpose of recouping these personal damages as well as the expenses of the war. Those claims of our citizens (as already observed) were always described in these general terms in the diplomatic correspondence, the President's messages and the peace protocols, and there never was from the beginning to the end of the negotiations at Paris, or in the instructions to the Commissioners who negotiated the Treaty of Peace, a word said by way of distinguishing the injuries and losses inflicted upon our citizens by the insurgents from those inflicted upon them by the Spaniards,[1] for the simple and all-sufficient reason that the war of intervention was undertaken and waged by the United States, and indemnity was exacted for those individual damages, on the ground that Spain, by her misgovernment of Cuba, was morally responsible for the conditions that had so long prevailed in the island, and for the consequent injuries which our national interests and our citizens resident in Cuba had been suffering.

Whether the war of intervention was justified or not is immaterial, so far as the duty of the United States to pay these claims of her citizens is concerned. It *did* intervene, and, in accordance with the avowed grounds and purposes of its intervention, and in the exercise of the conqueror's right, it exacted indemnity for all those individual claims "of every kind," and agreed in the treaty to adjudicate and settle them.[2] Neither the

[1] "But before turning away from the proceedings at Paris, I must refer to the very significant language of our Commissioners in one of their elaborate replies, where they speak of the magnanimity of our Government in waiving the right to demand money and in being content with a cession of territory for the many millions spent, and '*the sufferings, privation and losses endured by its people.*' (Treaty Doc., p. 107.) In my judgment, this sweeping language would hardly have been employed if there had been any recognized limitation on the liability of Spain for the injuries and losses of our citizens in Cuba."—Commissioner Maury's dissenting opinion, Doc. No. 25, Sen., 58th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 162.

[2] "Indeed, this action of the Commission has a still more serious phase, for, if it was the exercise of a valid jurisdiction, it is binding on the United States, and might provoke Spain to complain of having been compelled to grant indemnity for what the United States now repudiates."—Commissioner Maury's dissenting opinion.

The Republic of Cuba would now be liable to the United States for the injuries and losses inflicted on American citizens by the Cuban insurgents during their struggle for independence, if the United States had not collected indemnity for such injuries and losses from Spain.

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fact of Spain's responsibility, nor the grounds on which the United States held her responsible and expelled her from Cuba, can be questioned by the Commission.

"The judiciary is not that department of the government to which the assertion of its interests against foreign Powers is confided, and its duty commonly is to decide upon individual rights according to those principles which the political departments of the nation have established."[1]

"Conquest is undoubtedly the assertion of a right, but it is the right to conquer which results from a state of war. It is not the assertion of a previous right or title to the territories conquered. Whether in doing so the belligerent is acting like a highwayman depends upon the moral justification for the war, an inquiry into which neither neutrals nor the courts of the belligerents can enter."[2]

The act of Congress "to carry into effect the stipulations of article VII of the treaty"[3] provides that the claims shall be adjudicated "according to the merits of the several cases, the principles of equity and of international law." "Equality is equity;" and it would have been most unequal and inequitable for our Government to have exacted indemnity for some of its citizens and left the others, whose property was destroyed by the insurgents, to bear so much more than their share of the cost of Cuban independence and our "war for humanity." And, if there is one thing better settled in the law of nations than another, it is that forcible intervention can be justified only on such grounds as President McKinley set forth in his message—(1) intolerable conditions from which the intervening power is suffering, either directly or in the persons of its citizens, and (2) responsibility for such conditions on the part of the sovereign against whom the war of intervention is waged. Of this responsibility the intervening power must necessarily be the judge, and the exercise of such judgment is the highest and most responsible act of sovereignty within the power of the nation. The United States decided that Spain, by her broken promises to her subjects in Cuba, by her continued misgovernment of the island, and by the barbarous methods she employed in attempting to suppress the insur-

[1] Foster *v.* Neilson, 2 Pet. 253, 307.
[2] Castillero *v.* United States, 2 Bl. (67 U. S.) 1, 369.
[3] 31 Stats. at Large, 877.

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rection which she herself had provoked, was responsible for the ensuing conditions in which the dwellings, the fields and the factories of non-combatant, law-abiding citizens of the United States were given to the flames by both the contending parties. This decision, followed, as it was, by the forcible expulsion of Spain from Cuba and the exaction of indemnity by the United States for the injuries and losses so suffered by its citizens during the insurrection, is binding on the Commission and on all concerned; and whether the United States was justified in thus intervening, or, in the language of the Supreme Court, was "acting like a highwayman, depends upon the moral justification for the war, *an inquiry into which neither neutrals nor the courts of the belligerents can enter.*"

For the Commission to say that the avowed reasons for which the United States intervened by force of arms, and expelled Spain from Cuba, and afterwards exacted indemnity for individual injuries and losses, were false or mistaken, that Spain was not responsible for the insurrection, that devastation and "reconcentration" as practised by General Weyler were legitimate war measures, and hence that the United States is not bound to keep the covenant of the treaty and adjudicate and settle these claims of her citizens in good faith, is for the creature to condemn and dishonor its creator and to defeat the purpose for which, and for which alone, it was brought into being.

What can be done to prevent such a national injustice and disgrace? Congress should grant an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, and thus secure such a judicial construction of article VII of the Treaty of Peace as its importance demands; or it should transfer the cases as they now stand to the Court of Claims, free from any decision or opinion of the Commission, and give the claimants and the country the benefit of the learning, experience and impartiality of an established, competent and responsible tribunal.

CRAMMOND KENNEDY.

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FINANCING THE NATIONAL THEATRE.

BY JAMES S. METCALFE.

Six million dollars is the sum required sufficiently to endow a National Theatre and its dependent institutions. But, before explaining why this is the amount required, and before going into a consideration of how it may be obtained, it will be well to discuss briefly the necessity for such a theatre, and to determine whether it is a practicable idea or only a dream of visionary enthusiasts.

The objects of this endowment would be:

1. To construct in New York a theatre-building which shall be (*a*) an architectural ornament to the city; (*b*) safe; (*c*) comfortable; and which (*d*) shall possess on its stage all the modern accessories for the perfect presentation of any play;

2. Gradually to form and perfect the best and most thoroughly trained company of English-speaking actors in the world;

3. To acquire gradually a repertory of the standard plays in English, both classic and modern, and to present them in the best manner and with the nearest possible approach to artistic perfection;

4. To encourage American literature by giving production to adequate plays by American authors;

5. To choose, under scholarly advice, the best standard of pronunciation of our language, so that the usage of the National Theatre shall be a recognized authority and the preserver of pure speech;

6. To establish, in connection with the theatre, a conservatory, in which shall be taught the elements of acting, including elocution, pantomime, fencing, dancing and kindred necessities of the art;

7. To establish, in connection with the theatre, a library which

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shall not only be of value to the theatre in making correct standards in details of scene and costume, but which shall be available for American dramatists and writers on dramatic subjects;

8. To set a correct and artistic standard which shall be a continual incentive to the improvement of dramatic art in America.

Taking these objects *seriatim,* the first represents conditions which should be characteristic of every theatre, but unfortunately are not; for a National Theatre they would be necessities. It would be fitting to a permanent and representative theatre that it should, both inside and out, be impressive and exemplify the best—not necessarily the most elaborate or costly—architectural art of our day. Safety and comfort would be essentials, and its stage would also, of necessity, be equipped and arranged for perfection in the smallest detail work, as well as for the greatest impressiveness in spectacle.

The next object, the forming of a perfect company, opens up a wide vista of argument, and includes the further object of the establishment of a conservatory, teaching all the things which aid in the art of expression, such as elocution, pantomime, dancing and fencing. The formation of the first company of the National Theatre would have to be from present acting material and in competition with the purely commercial theatres. These last would, of course, hold out higher inducements to actors in the way of immediate pecuniary return. On the other hand, the National Theatre, with its permanency, its higher ideals, its standard of fair-dealing and its rewards based only on artistic accomplishment, would hold out inducements which would win the allegiance and the loyalty of true artists and actors of the better class. Later on, the company would be recruited from the theatre's own conservatory. Maintained by the endowment, this conservatory would be under no obligation to accept pupils from mercenary motives. It would extend its training to persons with the natural qualifications and dramatic instinct, many of whom are now debarred from acquiring the education which would make them finished actors instead of the half-equipped performers we so often see. It cannot be doubted that a company so recruited would go on and on toward a higher degree of excellence, until the object of having in America "the best and most thoroughly trained company of English-speaking actors in the world" would eventually be attained.

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The repertory of the National Theatre would at first naturally be drawn from the existing stores of classic and semi-classic plays. In some quarters, a fear has been expressed that the stage of the National Theatre would be given over exclusively to Ibsen, Maeterlinck, Hauptmann, D'Annunzio and other modern writers who have a limited following of enthusiasts. With Shakespeare and the classics to draw on, and besides these a long line of minor dramatic writers reaching down to our own time, it is not to be believed that a rational management of a National Theatre would give over its facilities completely, or even to any great extent, to the adherents of any one class of writers.

Dreariness and unattractiveness are also prophesied as likely to characterize the repertory of the National Theatre, with its artistic ambitions. This is as much as to say that what is artistic and of high merit would necessarily be disagreeable. It must be confessed that, if the National Theatre is expected to present plays which will compete with the horse-play, evanescent jokes and frequent lubricity of some commercial theatres, the expectation would be disappointed. Outside of scholarly tragedy, which would interest from the perfection and impressiveness of its presentation, there are unlimited stores of lighter dramas and comedies, many of them of contemporary interest, which are worthy of the highest artistic effort, and which would fall well within the province of a National Theatre.

The life, manners, tragedy and humor of our own time would find their way to the stage of the National Theatre through another avowed object of its proponents. The encouragement of the American author, of course as a subsidiary and by no means exclusive idea, should at times bring to its boards fresh material of rapidly increasing excellence. The commercial manager is debarred, by the great cost of their production, from making experiments with plays by authors untried in dramatic writing. Although this is the most remunerative field of literary work, our best writers do not enter it because of their fear that they cannot answer the demand of the commercial manager for material which shall surely appeal to the great multitude. The writer who is dependent on his pen, and who has a fixed market for his wares, is not tempted to work on the chance of satisfying such a demand.

The National Theatre would naturally require a technical library for the use of its own stage-managers, artists, designers,

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costumers and pupils. There can be little doubt that this would in time grow to become an institution of great value to every one in America working for, or interested in, dramatic art. Its value is so obvious, and its support would come from so many sources, that it could not help growing into an institution of large importance. In fact, it would seem that to-day a public dramatic library could be easily and successfully established as a separate enterprise, later on to be connected with the National Theatre when the latter shall have become a fact instead of a hope.

Two objects remain for comment, and it is a question which is the more important; these are, first, the creation in the National Theatre of a standard of acting and theatrical production which shall be the highest possible, and by example raise the standard of every other theatre in America; next, the insistence in the National Theatre on such purity of pronunciation and diction in the use of our language that its usage shall be authoritative and preserve our language from the corruptions which assail it on every side. The stage stands for so much in the teaching of speech and manners by example that it seems a high duty of the American people to establish for it the highest possible standard. As a teacher in these things it certainly ranks above the churches, and almost as certainly above the schools, with their varied standards. It is doing its work every week of the year and almost every day of the week. It should have a fixed standard, derived from the very best authorities. If we leave this tremendous influence in the hands of the ignorant and the uncultured, we are neglecting a most potent instrument of national culture and improvement to let it become an influence against, instead of for, refinement and good manners.

The above shows in brief detail what a National Theatre seeks to accomplish. Broadly speaking, does there exist any necessity for providing the six million dollars which shall make the National Theatre an actuality? To any one acquainted with the tendencies of the commercial theatre, there can be but one reply: that it is a vital necessity in the life of the American people; that nowhere else can a sum so small, compared with other expenditures for educational purposes, be used with the promise of securing such far-reaching benefits. Naturally, only a small proportion of our great population would ever witness its performances, but its influence would be felt in every theatre in the country, and from

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them would extend into the every-day life of all the people. No university and no group of universities, with endowments vastly exceeding that required for a national theatre, can reach as speedily and with such immediate educational effect into every part of our national life. The tendency of the theatre to-day is downward; downward in its literature, in its morals, in its manners, in its arts, and in its speech. We are an easy-going people, and in our amusements take things as they are provided. To-day, money-getting is the main motive which animates the purveyors of our theatrical entertainment. Until there can be set for our theatres a higher standard than that based chiefly on money-getting, we must expect the downward tendency to continue. An endowed National Theatre would set that standard.

Why are six million dollars necessary for the endowment of a National Theatre, when commercial theatres are successfully capitalized on a much smaller basis? For the simple reason that the commercial manager is willing to gamble on the chances of temporary success (and often fails), and the National Theatre seeks to become a permanent institution. It cannot take the risk of being destroyed by a failure, or a succession of failures, especially in the early days of its existence when failures, in the commercial sense, are naturally to be expected. An endowment of six million dollars does not in any way mean the expenditure of that amount. In fact, it would remain virtually untouched in the hands of its trustees. Regarded as an investment of so much capital, there is no reason to believe that it might not eventually earn a handsome return. For instance, the net profits of the Comédie Française for 1903 were $130,000.

The amount of six million dollars is reached after careful computation of what is needed to place a National Theatre on a secure basis of permanency, and to supply an income to carry it through its stages of experiment and imperfection. It could not be expected to come into the world Minerva-like. Complete artistic perfection is not achieved instantly, and the first years of the National Theatre, while showing a vast improvement on present methods, would, from the very condition of dramatic art as it is, fall short of the accomplishment it would eventually reach.

The National Theatre would have, first of all, to be adequately housed and within the reasonable access of its patrons, as well as in a location where it would be of value as a public ornament.

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A careful estimate of the cost of site, of the erection of the theatre itself, of preliminary expenses in the way of administration, and for interest lost during the process of building, would make the cost of a well-located, perfectly and artistically constructed theatre, turned over ready for use, amount to twelve hundred thousand dollars.

The annual fixed charges of operating such a theatre, regardless of the salaries of a company and the cost of the actual production of plays, have been carefully figured on the basis of similar disbursements in existing theatres, and amount to seventy thousand dollars a year. This includes such salaries as those of a director and assistant director, stage-managers, musicians, business assistants, doorkeepers, ushers, electricians, carpenters, scene-painters, costumers, wardrobe-keepers, property-men, engineers, firemen, stage-hands and watchmen. It is only fair to say that this expenditure of seventy thousand dollars includes yearly salaries, and implies that the theatre is playing a full season. In the beginning of its existence, before its repertory was a large one, the season would, of necessity, be short, and there would be some reduction in this amount.

The yearly cost of the conservatory has to be estimated, and it is believed that twenty thousand dollars is a very generous amount for this purpose and would secure the highest class of instruction. That the amount is excessive, rather than scant, seems reasonable when it is considered that in many cases the cost of instruction could be reduced by utilizing the services of highly qualified persons employed in the theatre in other capacities.

The sum of twenty thousand dollars a year is allowed for taxes, repairs and insurance. On a fire-proof building the insurance rate would not be high; ordinary repairs would be taken care of by the salaried mechanics of the theatre, and it would not be too much to ask the State and City of New York to lighten the burden of taxation on an institution not run for profit and of such great educational value to the people at large, as well as of value in fixing New York's position as the metropolis of America.

The expense of maintaining an adequate company must also be, for the most part, estimated. Eventually, the salaries of the members of the company of the National Theatre would be based

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on yearly engagements, and a generous estimate makes the salary list something under one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars a year. This provides for no exaggerated payments to stars. As the National Theatre would claim its superiority on the excellence of its *ensemble* work, the star would not be essential to its existence. This does not necessarily mean that the greatest artists would not be seen upon its boards, but this would be by special arrangement, which would not be considered in planning the theatre's business.

The cost of the production of plays would vary in each case with their character. It goes without saying that the productions at the National Theatre should be the best that could be given, in each case the expenditure not being expenditure simply for expenditure's sake, but for producing impressiveness, spectacular effect, artistic detail and historical accuracy, as might be required. The number of yearly productions would, at first, be limited by the income from the endowment, unless the patronage of the public should enable the management to go beyond that limit. As a tentative proposition, it is supposed that, in the first year of its existence, the theatre would make four productions, one at a cost of thirty thousand dollars, one at twelve thousand, one at seven thousand and one at five, making a total of fifty-four thousand dollars. In its second year, it would have these four plays in its repertory and could produce four others, thus from year to year increasing its repertory, lengthening its season and increasing its gross income.

We have, then, as a reasonable and safe basis of annual expenditure for the maintenance of a National Theatre, the following items and total:

Fixed expenditures	$ 70,000
Salaries of company	125,000
Taxes, insurance and repairs	20,000
Expenses of conservatory	20,000
Cost of four productions	54,000
Total	$289,000

After defraying the cost of land and building, we have left, of the six million dollars endowment, four million eight hundred thousand dollars. Invested at four per cent. this would yield $192,000, leaving $97,000 to be provided for by sales of tickets. If the endowment fund could be safely invested at 4½ per cent.,

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the amount to be made up by sales of tickets would be reduced to $73,000.

On the small expectation that the four productions of the first year would provide a season of only twelve weeks, with total receipts of sixty thousand dollars—very far from an extravagant estimate—an actual deficit of only thirty-seven thousand dollars would be carried over. With a repertory of eight plays and a longer season, the second year should not increase the deficit; and it would seem very bad management if, out of eight productions, one at least should not be sufficiently successful in the commercial sense to wipe out the deficiency, allowing the third season to start with a considerable repertory and the prospect of a season which should return a profit.

It will not be difficult to criticise these figures; but, wherever it has been possible, they have been drawn from existing conditions; wherever they are only estimates, the estimates have been made on the safe side. A shrinkage or an excess in one item may be offset by an excess or a shrinkage in another. In many ways, economies will be possible which are not shown here, and which may be practised without in any way interfering with the excellence of the general result. In the productions of an endowed theatre, extravagant display need not be counted on as an attraction, although it will be a necessity to make large expenditures in mounting some plays, to give their settings the needed impressiveness.

Having shown briefly what are the objects sought to be achieved in the endowing of a National Theatre, and what that endowment should yield to fortify the institution against failure, it may be well to show why the same results cannot be obtained by the commercial theatre. The same complexity which has entered into modern life in other matters has affected the theatrical art more strongly than it has other arts. With the same expenditure for paint and canvas, the painter of to-day can produce, if he has the genius, as great a picture as could Raphael or Titian. This also holds good with music and sculpture. But the dramatic author and the actor find themselves confronted with demands, in the presentation of their art, which did not exist when audiences were content to sit in barnlike structures, and see plays presented amid crude surroundings and in most primitive settings. The increased requirements of the theatre-going public

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have made the commercial manager a greater necessity, and the art itself of less importance, than formerly. The housing and staging of plays have become almost the most important thing in their production. Business ability has come to be of even greater importance than genius. Business competition has made the business man more powerful than the actor and author combined. These latter to-day cannot exist without the former; but the former, if he cannot make terms with the actor and author of the highest ability, can find others less gifted who suit his commercial purpose practically as well. The result is apparent to any one, especially in America, where the business of managing theatres and producing plays has become in effect a business monopoly. Our theatres are increasing in number, in magnificence and in cost. Stage mechanics are improved and elaborated in possibilities and expense. On the other hand, dramatic authors and actors and plays of the best class are yearly becoming scarcer and scarcer. Art does not thrive in the cruel atmosphere of business and money-getting. We hear that art which is worth while will push itself to the front, no matter what the circumstances. The history of the world shows that, in periods of military, religious, or commercial activity, this has not been true. Certainly, it has not been true in the case of dramatic art.

The great question of where to secure the six million dollars to endow a National Theatre comes next. When one considers the value of the institution as an educator, and remembers that education is the great conservator of our nation, one might think that, with a people which is enormously rich, individually and collectively, and which claims to be a practical people, this would be a question easily answered. The first thought would be that the Nation or the State would gladly assume the comparatively small burden. This is as unlikely to occur, as it would be unfortunate if it did. In our politics, partisanship and demagogism cut too large a figure to make governmental interference desirable in matters where education, taste and refinement should be controlling influences. Joseph Jefferson put this concisely when he said that it would hardly do to have a National Theatre when we would have only Republican actors under one administration and Democratic actors under another.

Those millionaires who have shown themselves ready to supply endowments in large amounts have been the next source thought

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of, from which should come this great public benefit. Unfortunately, those millionaires who have shown this disposition are hounded to death and have slight patience to investigate the merits of new channels of beneficence. But there are other millionaires who could provide this endowment out of hand, and almost without feeling it. One would think that the certainty that by establishing such an institution he would send his name down to posterity as its founder, would appeal to some one of these. Because of early religious training in which the theatre was considered an influence for evil only, and because of a certain unsavoriness which has sometimes attached to the connection of rich men with the stage, and perhaps because the matter has never been properly presented to the right man, none of these has yet made his views heard in the matter.

The six million dollars which will endow this theatre, it should be remembered, are not to be expended for the purpose of running a theatre, thus to be scattered and disappear. The only part of the endowment which would be actually expended is that which would go into land and building, things which would be valuable and permanent in themselves. The remainder would be invested and kept intact, only its income being used for the deficiencies of the institution. This income would certainly be needed at first, and it should always be available in case the theatre should fall into periods of unwise or mistaken management. After the theatre's early years, when its repertory became large and its company a thoroughly trained one, there can be no doubt that what would be the best theatre in America would become self-sustaining and even profitable. At that time there could be no objection to returning the surplus and unneeded income to those who had provided the endowment, to their heirs, or to their assigns. A plan to secure an endowment of the National Theatre must disregard the Government and the individual millionaire. But it seems not impossible that there are in America enough persons of large means and enlightened patriotism to furnish by association the insurance fund necessary.

A rough plan has been made of a suitable theatre which shall contain, in part of its auditorium, fifty comfortable boxes arranged in two tiers, and an estrade containing one hundred especially roomy chairs, all possessing equally good views of the stage. These boxes and seats are reached immediately from a

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large and impressive foyer reserved exclusively for their occupants.

These fifty boxes and one hundred estrade chairs, in a manner to be discussed further on, would form the basis for the endowment of the theatre. In addition to them, there would be from five hundred to a thousand orchestra chairs, more roomy and comfortable than those to be found in the commercial theatres; similar seats in the first gallery, immediately over the upper tier of boxes; and others in a second gallery. From this generous seating capacity, it might be thought that the plan calls for an extremely large, and therefore barnlike, theatre. On the contrary, a theatre built on this plan would bring the entire audience close to the stage, making the work of the actors easy, and would be admirably arranged, in seeing and hearing properties, for the audience in every part of the house. As an educational scheme, the National Theatre must furnish good seats at moderate prices for a large part of its constituency, and this would be very feasible under the plan proposed. The upper foyer, for box-holders, and the lower one, for the use of the audience from the other parts of the house, would be foyers in the European sense of the word, and with convenient access to the auditorium would attract the entire audience between the acts.

In making boxes and seats a basis for subscription to the endowment, it is with a thorough understanding that a box at the opera has uses which could never go with a box at any theatre. One can sit through frequent repetitions of a musical work, because the enjoyment of music is a more sensual pleasure and one which can be enjoyed over and over again. Bearing in mind that the necessities of a theatre call for runs of plays of some duration, and that a box-owner would not care to use it very often during the run of a play, it is proposed, in order to make the ownership of boxes and estrade chairs attractive, that they shall be held on the following basis:

1. That the owners shall be entitled to their boxes or chairs on the occasion of all first presentations;

2. That, at any other time when they shall wish to do so, they shall have the right to use them for themselves or friends;

3. That when owners shall not indicate that they wish to use their boxes or chairs, the same shall be placed on sale to the general public, the proceeds to be set apart and, when the theatre

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shall have paid its running expenses, to be divided on an equitable basis among the subscribers to the endowment.

The *crux* of this plan to secure an endowment for a National Theatre lies in the possibility of securing fifty subscriptions of one hundred thousand dollars each and one hundred subscriptions of ten thousand dollars each, not an extravagant possibility in this country of many large fortunes. Each subscription would be represented by a certificate transferable by assignment or bequest, those for the larger amount representing the rights to a box, and for the smaller, to one of the estrade chairs. In addition, these certificates would represent the owner's right to a pecuniary return on the subscription when the endowed theatre should show an income exceeding its running expenses and the cost of its productions.

This return to their subscribers, or their heirs or assigns, would eventually be a handsome one, but the appeal for subscriptions to the endowment must be based on a higher motive than this expectation. With the endowment rigidly safeguarded, as it would have to be, subscribers could be sure that their generosity would insure to the American people, for all time, an educational institution of the highest value and that it would be an enduring monument to the public spirit and patriotism of its founders.

According to the census, in one year of the last decade three hundred million dollars were expended upon schools, colleges and other educational institutions. One-fiftieth of that amount would endow a National Theatre. Its education, its influence in purifying our speech and in refining our manners, would be felt the country over and for all time, without distinction of creed or cult. Is that not good education? Is it not education needed in a country given over to absorption in the pursuit of material things? Is it not a practical idea? And, above all, is it not a patriotic idea, which should appeal to those who have found in this country the opportunity to accumulate large fortunes and the privilege to enjoy them?

JAMES S. METCALFE.

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SOME RESULTS OF THE SOUTH POLAR CAMPAIGN.

BY J. SCOTT KELTIE, LL.D., SECRETARY OF THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

IN March of last year, in an article in this REVIEW, I gave a sketch of the actual state of the various forces that were then besieging the still-uncaptured fastnesses entrenched within the thick-ribbed ice of the North and South Polar areas. During the short period that has since elapsed, much has happened, at least in connection with the international forces that have been laying siege to the Antarctic. Preliminary reports of the results of the German and Swedish expeditions have been published, while the British and Scottish national expeditions under Captain R. F. Scott and Mr. Bruce, respectively, have returned. From these latter, reports are also available which enable us to form a very fair estimate of the results which have been achieved in the various departments of science in which investigations were carried out. In a general way, to continue the metaphor with which we started, it may be said that positions of the first importance have been captured, and the way has been opened to science to secure the mastery over the last remaining outpost of ignorance on the face of the globe. We can now form a fair idea of the configuration of the vast area of land which surrounds the South Pole; while in geology, meteorology, terrestrial magnetism, oceanography and biology, the spoils have been immense.

The geographical results are probably those which will appeal most to the general reader. A map of the Antarctic, as it was in 1904 before these expeditions sailed, will show in the region to the south of New Zealand, between 71 degrees and 78 degrees south latitude, and between 160 degrees and 170 degrees east longitude, a block of mountainous land, apparently isolated,

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terminating in the south in Mounts Erebus and Terror. This was, practically, as Sir James Ross left it sixty years ago. Extending eastwards from the two mountains for some 450 miles, an ice-barrier is shown, rising to a height of about 200 feet and barring all access to the interior. At the eastern extremity of the barrier, Ross's chart indicated an "appearance of high land." That was all we knew of this region, until Captain Scott and his companions gave reality to the "appearance of high land," circumvented the great ice-barrier and revealed to us the mysteries that lie beyond. The generally accepted idea was that Ross's ice-barrier was really the steep termination of a great ice-sheet, covering, to a depth of hundreds if not thousands of feet, a land rising southwards towards the Pole; and that flat-topped Antarctic icebergs were fragments broken off the barrier. The various sledge expeditions organized by Captain Scott have proved this conception of the so-called ice-barrier to be erroneous.

When the "Discovery," in January, 1902, reached Cape Adare, on the northeast of South Victoria Land, it skirted southwards along a coast-line rising steeply from the ocean, and already partly known from previous exploration, until it reached the neighborhood of Mount Erebus. Thence it continued its course eastwards along the great Ice-Barrier of Ross, which, it was found, if Ross's observations were correct, had receded southwards about forty miles in sixty years. This barrier extended for about four hundred miles, beyond which the expedition found that Ross's "appearance of high land" resolved itself into an extensive mountainous region, rising to thousands of feet and now named "King Edward VII Land." One of the problems left to solve is, how far this land extends southwards towards the Pole, and whether it continues, coastwards, in an unbroken line till it merges into what is known as Graham Land, where the Swedish Antarctic expedition was at work. Appearances of land have been reported by previous expeditions between King Edward VII Land and Graham Land—or rather Alexander Land, which lies immediately south of Graham Land and may be continuous with it.

From the position taken up by the "Discovery" under Mount Erebus, where she remained until the beginning of 1904, expedition after expedition was sent out, south and west and southeast, for the purpose of exploring what was regarded as the interior of the Antarctic continent. No doubt, the most important

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and perhaps the most hazardous of these expeditions was that undertaken by Captain Scott himself, accompanied by Lieutenant Shackleton and Dr. Wilson. It extended over more than four degrees of latitude, considerably beyond 82 degrees south, and sights were obtained to beyond the 83d degree. This journey was all the time over ice, whose essentially level surface was only varied by hummocks and crevasses. Another journey made a year later by Lieutenant Royds, over 150 miles in a southeasterly direction, found the ice of the same character as that traversed by Captain Scott and his party. Captain Scott's route was, on the west side, flanked by a high, mountainous country, rising at a comparatively short distance from the edge of the level ice to a height of ten thousand feet, but broken at frequent intervals by inlets of an essentially fjordlike character. As far south as could be seen from the furthest point reached, this mountainous land continued, rising at one point—Mount Markham—to fifteen thousand feet. Two journeys were made to the west of the "Discovery's" position, first by Lieutenant Armitage, and later by Captain Scott, to a distance of some two hundred miles from the coast, over ground again of a markedly mountainous character. In the southern journeys, the members of the expedition themselves have no doubt that they were travelling over sea ice which was steadily on the move northwards. In this opinion they were confirmed by the fact that, in boring down through the ice, after a certain depth was reached the temperature began to rise, indicating the proximity of water. What is the depth of this ice it is impossible to say, but it is probably many hundreds of feet. The face of the Barrier itself rises in places to over 200 feet above the sea, while soundings taken immediately in front of the Barrier varied from 300 to over 400 feet. It seems fair to conclude, therefore, that there is a vast mountainous region extending southwards from Cape North, close on 70 degrees, to beyond Mount Markham, close on 84 degrees. Nearly along the 78th parallel, westwards for 200 miles from McMurdo Sound, the land continues to extend and has the same characteristics.

The problem to solve in this direction is, what area is covered by this land. Does it extend right round continuously from 170 degrees east to the meridian of Greenwich? Dr. Drygalski, from his winter quarters on the edge of the Antarctic Circle at about

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90 degrees east, made a series of sledge journeys to the land in his vicinity on the south, and seems disposed to conclude that there is a continuous stretch of coast from Knox Land on his east to Kemp Land and Enderby Land on his west, a distance of some 200 miles. Though probable enough, this requires confirmation by actual exploration. Between Cape North and Mount Gauss, opposite the winter quarters of the German Expedition, the expeditions of sixty years ago indicated patches of land, though the real character of what was seen is extremely doubtful. At any rate, that there exists a vast mass of mountainous land extending westwards from the 170th degree of longitude there can be no doubt, and its great extent and mountainous character would indicate that it is more continental than insular.

Another geographical problem is the extent to which the sea under the thick ice-covering on which Scott and Royds made their sledge journeys, extends towards the Pole. Certain authorities are disposed to believe that it goes right through across the Pole and out at the other side, separating this mountainous western land from any other land on the east, which may or may not be continuous with King Edward VII Land. Captain Scott, however, is disposed to conclude that this sea is only an intrusion southwards into a vast land mass, and that it may end about 84 degrees south. In that case it is probably only a great bay or gulf, stretching Polewards and separating Victoria Land from King Edward VII Land, these two lands meeting at about 84 degrees south and hindering the sea from intruding further. That, again, is another problem which can be solved only by actual exploration. How far the fjordlike openings which break what we may call the east coast-line of Victoria Land, extend into the interior, it is impossible to say. They are all filled by enormous glaciers, and these glaciers might very well rest on the beds of actual fjords, which in a more genial climate would be filled with water.

Dr. Nordenskiöld, on the opposite side of the Antarctic area, carried out a certain amount of sledging work, which enabled him to extend our knowledge of Graham Land, and to indicate that this land, instead of being a broken series of islands, extends continuously from about 63 degrees south, probably to about 70 degrees. Whether it joins on to Alexander Land, still further south, and so continues round, with a more or less bro-

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ken coast-line to King Edward VII Land, remains to be discovered. Mr. Bruce, the leader of the Scottish expedition, was at work some 600 miles to the east of the Swedish expedition. His sphere was in what is known as the Weddell Sea, where he proved that the greatest depth did not much exceed 2,000 fathoms, and that Weddell was mistaken, some eighty years ago, in carrying it down to 4,000 fathoms. His soundings, however, shallowed very rapidly, until in about 74 degrees south and 20 degrees west he discovered a great ice-barrier which he believes to be part of the coast-line of the Antarctic continent. The character of this ice-barrier is quite different from that which was met with by Captain Scott on the other side; for Mr. Bruce assures us that immediately behind the barrier rose rapidly up a great ice-covered land. What are the relations of this land to Graham Land on the west, to Drygalski's supposed extensive coast-line on the east, and to the mountainous land which Scott believes to extend from about 84 degrees south across the Pole, is another problem which we may be assured will not remain unsolved. But it is clear that all four expeditions had to deal more or less intimately with what, as had been conjectured, is probably a great continent of a prevailingly mountainous character, though it may possibly be found that the continental area is broken up into two or more sections by intrusions of the sea. It would not be surprising if it turned out to be essentially a vast land area, in shape not unlike that of Australia.

Such, then, are some of the leading geographical results of the three years' exploration. Whatever may be the extent of the land round the South Pole, it is evident that its interest can only be purely scientific. Its conditions are more hostile to human occupation than any other land that we know on the face of the globe. Of terrestrial animal life there is absolutely none, except it may be a microscopic insect. The millions of penguins that swarm along the coast during the summer season are essentially migratory. But, with the seals, four kinds of which are also abundant, they can be turned to various economic uses by humanity. Nothing but the lowest form of moss is found on the land in the shape of vegetation. The sea is comparatively rich in fishes of various kinds, some of them of great scientific interest, and both Mr. Hodgson of the "Discovery" expedition, and Mr. Bruce of the Scottish expedition, have brought home a rich

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harvest in this department. Except on the voyage down from New Zealand, and on the voyage homeward from New Zealand across the Pacific to Cape Horn, where a considerable number of deep-sea soundings were made, the soundings of the "Discovery" expedition were mainly along the face of the ice-barrier. Nor had they much opportunity for dredging in the Antarctic proper. Mr. Bruce, however, made this the principal object of his expedition, and his soundings and dredgings in great depths will without doubt prove of great scientific value.

It need hardly be said that, as a whole, all the expeditions found the land deeply covered with ice,—how deep in some cases it is impossible to say, it may be thousands of feet. Still, in Victoria Land, at least, there is a considerable area of rock surface bare of ice, giving an opportunity for the geologist to investigate the nature of the rocks and to collect specimens. Although Mount Erebus is the only steadily active volcano at present known, there is evidence all over the land, so far as could be seen, of widespread volcanic activity in the past. Basalts and the most ancient rocks are everywhere seen, though in the region investigated by the British expedition there were great exposures of sandstone, sometimes overlaid and underlaid by basaltic intrusions. It was in one of these exposures that Mr. Ferrar, the geologist of the "Discovery," came across some fossil plants, a very clear indication that, whatever their nature, the climate of this forbidding land must, at no very remote geological period, have been comparatively genial, temperate, at least, if not approaching the sub-tropical. When these fossils have been investigated, it will be possible to say whether they are of the same nature as the Cycads found by Dr. Nordenskiöld in Graham Land. Dr. Nordenskiöld's plants belong partly to the Jurassic, and partly to the Tertiary, period. Associated with these are the remains of some vertebrate animals, and, although the region investigated by him lay far to the north of that at which the British expedition was at work, still its climate to-day is essentially Antarctic.

With regard to the present glaciation of the Antarctic Continent, widespread and deep as it is, the observations both of the British and of the German expeditions indicate clearly that, if not actually receding at the present time, it was once much more widespread than it is now. It has already been pointed out that, since Ross's expedition, sixty years ago, the ice-barrier has receded

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southwards some forty miles. Whether this has any relation to the shrinking of the ice-covering on land, one cannot say in the present state of our knowledge, nor whether the shrinkage of the ice on land is permanent, indicating the approach of a milder climate, nor whether it is simply a case of oscillation such as is found in other glaciated regions of the globe. The comparatively small snowfall, as observed by Captain Scott, may have some relation to this shrinkage.

When completely worked out—and that will not be until some considerable time has elapsed—the meteorological results of the recent Antarctic campaign, and especially of the British expedition, cannot fail to be of immense value, not only from the point of view of pure science, but in those practical applications of meteorology which have to do with the climatic condition of the globe. There have been accumulated, over two years, daily (in some cases, hourly) observations at the "Discovery's" winter quarters, besides those which have been taken on the various sledge expeditions. The trying conditions under which these observations had to be taken, it is difficult for those who live in temperate climates to conceive: and it therefore reflects the highest credit on Lieutenant Royds and the others who had charge of this department that the results have been so abundant and so satisfactory. Probably the lowest temperature on record was experienced, 67.7 degrees, Fahrenheit, below zero—that is, almost a hundred degrees of frost. On the other hand, a temperature as high as 42 degrees, Fahrenheit, was recorded, just about Antarctic midsummer. Hurricanes, the wind sometimes driving at 85 miles an hour, were frequent enough, but there were many days also of unclouded sunshine. The prevailing winds at the "Discovery's" quarters were east and southeast; west winds brought blizzards and storms; and, curiously, south winds, that is winds direct from the Pole, usually raised the temperature as much as 40 degrees. This some try to account for by maintaining that the sea extends right across the Pole to the other side; but, if so, it must be a sea which is practically permanently covered with ice. Lieutenant Royds, who has evidently devoted great care to the meteorology, is convinced that these south winds are of the nature of föhn, a type of wind rising from a low level over a high mountain region, thereby parting with its moisture, and descending on the other side as a dry wind with an increasing

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temperature. This is a probable enough solution, though these south winds in the Antarctic generally brought snow. There were many displays of the Aurora Australis, but these were never so brilliant as those of the Aurora Borealis.

The meteorological observations taken by the British Antarctic expedition will be greatly enhanced in value when compared with those of the other three expeditions. Although the Scottish expedition was specially intended for oceanic work, its first task was to erect magnetic and meteorological observations on the South Orkneys, which, although somewhat outside the Antarctic Circle, are essentially Antarctic in climatic conditions. These observations have been at work ever since the beginning of 1903, and they will continue at work under the auspices of the Argentine Government; the results thus secured must prove of the highest service. Neither the Scottish nor the Swedish expedition (the latter in Graham Land) obtained anything like so low temperatures as the British expedition; 75 degrees of frost was about the lowest, while the highest temperature obtained by the Swedish observers — curiously, in August (midwinter) — was 48.74 degrees, Fahrenheit. The Swedish expedition fared much worse than the British party in the matter of storms, which were almost continuous and in many cases of the most extreme violence. On Graham Land the southwest winds are the most common and the strongest, and bring the worst weather, though, as a matter of fact, storms came with nearly every wind. At the station of the German expedition, easterly winds prevailed, as at the "Discovery's" quarters, while the southerly winds coming over the vast, uniform, but slightly inclined surface of the inland ice were also of a föhnlike character.

Perhaps, to many, the magnetic results obtained by the various expeditions will be more interesting than any other, dealing with a mysterious force of the real nature of which we are almost entirely ignorant. The magnetic observations made on board the various ships will, no doubt, prove of service to the navigation of the seas between South America, Africa and Australia, which hitherto has been fraught with danger owing to our ignorance of the factors which influence the mariner's compass in those latitudes. The expedition's magnetic work was of the first importance. The definite determination of the South Magnetic Pole is one of the great problems to be solved; but the

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solution can only be reached when the hundreds of observations made daily are plotted and compared and coordinated and worked out by experts. But it is noteworthy that, when Captain Scott was on his western excursion, he found the compass one day point directly to the South Pole; this was in 156 degrees east longitude and about 78 degrees south latitude. This must mean that the South Magnetic Pole lies somewhere between the point of observation and the South Pole. One theoretical conjecture had placed the South Magnetic Pole about 112 degrees east. The great German physicist, Gauss, conjectured that it lay about 152 degrees east and about 73 degrees south, or about 20 degrees further east than the position assigned to it by Dumont D'Urville; while, according to Ross, it was in about the same longitude as that assigned to it by Gauss, but some three degrees of latitude farther south. From the observations collected by the various expeditions, all these conjectures ought to give way to certainty, and so a scientific point of the first importance be finally settled.

These, then, are some of the results which, at the present stage, we can say have been achieved by the various expeditions. The numerous photographs brought home — the British expedition alone has considerably over two thousand—and the exquisite water-color sketches, hundreds of which have been made by Dr. Wilson, of the scenery and life of the region, will give a fair idea of the outward condition, at least, of this still imperfectly known land. On all sides, except probably towards the south point of America, surrounded by the deep ocean, it is truly continental in character; broken up, it may be, into two great masses, though probably these are not entirely severed. The fossils obtained and the geological conditions observed may afford material for concluding whether or not, at a past geological period, the Antarctic continent was continuous with South America and extended as far as New Zealand, as has been boldly conjectured by Prof. J. W. Gregory; indeed, New Zealand has quite the appearance of a fragment broken off from South America. But these are only some of the intensely interesting questions suggested by the vast harvest of results secured during the recent international campaign in the South Polar area,—results which fully justify the expenditure of money and the endurance of great hardships. Happily, the loss of life has been comparatively small.

J. Scott Keltie.

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THE GOTHIC IN THE CATHEDRALS AND CHURCHES OF FRANCE.

BY AUGUSTE RODIN.

I.

One of the first among foreigners to understand the ancient cathedrals and churches of France was Ruskin, as was Victor Hugo among his fellow-countrymen. Hugo had made no special study of the subject; but he understood through his great genius: he understood as a poet; for cathedrals are vast poems.

At the time he wrote, the Gothic art was considered in France as something barbarian; in fact, the epithet was applied to all that was Gothic. This error antedates the eighteenth century. Even in the reign of Louis XIV., Fénelon, and those with him who speak of the Gothic architecture, referred to it in disparaging language. What was more admired in the age of the great Louis and his successor was a town-hall of the style then modern. Many cathedrals and churches were roughly treated during those years, and the French Revolution did no more than carry on the work of destruction already begun.

If some one in authority begins to say that a thing is ugly, nearly everybody follows his example; and it needs a strong intelligence to uphold the contrary. Victor Hugo related to me that, when the Rue de Rivoli was being cut, that part of it which is beyond the arcades, between the Louvre and the Rue Saint-Antoine, had been originally designed to have another course, commencing opposite the colonnade of the Louvre and running from there in a straight line as far as the Place du Trône. Had this plan been carried out, the Tour Saint-Jacques, a fine specimen of Gothic sculpture, would have been demolished. Victor Hugo protested with such good effect that the original plan was modified, and the Tower was preserved.

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I cannot say that, as a boy, though born in Paris, I paid much attention to the architecture of Notre Dame. Children do not know how to see. I remarked its great size, and that was all. Only when I was in full possession of myself, at the age of about twenty-five, did I begin to make a special study of its beauty, which was generally decried. To some extent, indeed, before I was twenty, my eyes had been opened while I was working for a sculptor named Biès, who had a good deal to do with the so-called "restoring" of Notre Dame. It was to him that Viollet-le-Duc once said: "Forget all you know, and you will execute something Gothic." The expression had its hidden meaning. Profound knowledge is needed to produce the real Gothic—a form which to-day exists only in the monuments of the past.

As I grew older and rid myself of the prejudices of my environment, I acquired more assurance and dared to see for myself. Whenever I travelled, I made it a rule to visit all the cathedrals I could. Even in a small town there is often a real cathedral. I used to awake early in the morning, and hasten to visit what for me were the chief objects of interest. And I remember that the spires and the various parts of these churches gave me an exquisite joy. I would linger and walk round them until I was thoroughly tired out.

II.

No architect or sculptor has ever been able properly to restore a Gothic church or cathedral. Those who have tried, essayed a task as vain as if one were to attempt completing a chapter of Rabelais in which a part was wanting. The new portion would not be like the old. Formerly, when Greek or Roman statues were discovered, the custom was to restore them. To-day, the custom has fallen into desuetude, and nothing is lost by it. The Italians, it is true, continue to repair their ancient monuments; but they only touch the parts that are falling to ruin; whereas, when we repair, we insist on restoring, and spoil the old in order to harmonize it with the new. In Italy, the old is still extant; and, notwithstanding the repairing, we are able to enjoy the admirable beauty of the whole.

III.

It is difficult to explain the Gothic; there is always something that escapes definition. Consequently, ordinary ideas on the subject are erroneous or incomplete. Many people talk of the Gothic

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as if it were nothing but the predominance of the ideal over the material, or again of the idea over form. I consider the matter rather from the point of view of the execution. Another opinion is that the ogive constitutes the Gothic. This is also inexact. We might have Gothic architecture without the ogive. This style results from a long and careful experimentation on the effects of light and shade, and from the faculty thus acquired of giving to architecture a living, moving appearance. When I speak of light and shade, it is without reference to painting; I mean the rendering visible and perceptible certain geometrical points that make the planes of sculpture.

In order to have such effects of light and shade, there must be strongly projecting surfaces, arranged with due regard to their position in foreground and background. These were achieved with infinite art in the old Gothic cathedrals and churches, whose every part invariably stands out or recedes with a fine chiaroscuro. In the modern Gothic, however good the general design may be in outline, there is a lack of location in foreground and background, and the reliefs are shallow, holding no shadow, so that the details seem poor and cold. The superiority of the old will be at once apparent, if an ancient church porch is examined. It looks like a grotto or a cavern—architecturally constructed, of course. Certain of the figures that have been carved within it are bathed in light, others are shrouded in darkness, and others again show half-tints of chiaroscuro. Throughout the day, there is a continual change. While there are never more than a few figures in full view at the same instant, and the rest are either partially seen or divined, the sun's procession transports the effects from one side to the other, transposing them gradually between morning and evening in an animated panorama. Inside the edifice, there is the same impression of light playing amid deep recesses, but here we have candles replacing the sun's rays. Much more than the ogive, the grotto, the cavern, is essential to the Gothic, since by its aid is obtained a unique trituration of light, which comes back to the eyes with mysterious softness after penetrating into the abyss. Not that the architects of the Middle Ages necessarily wrought with a desire to produce something mysterious. This, like the other effects, was derived from the manner of their working, a manner present architectural sculpture is ignorant of or ignores. There is plenty of relief in

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the modern style, but the relief has no life. Whether the buildings be church, chapel or synagogue, they are ugly and cold to look at.

IV.

The good Gothic style appears in churches and cathedrals built during the four or five hundred years that lie between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries. Indeed, it can hardly be said to terminate with the Renascence; for our Renascence is still a Gothic style, which we wrongly call Renascence, and is, in reality, a marriage of the Gothic with the Greek—virtually, all is Gothic, but the details are finished in the Greek manner. Nearly all Renascence churches are good examples of this mingling of the two styles. In Paris, for instance, there are Saint-Eustache and Saint-Etienne du Mont. The latter, which is both fine and beautiful, is a Renascence of Henry the Fourth's period. Tonnerre also possesses two Renascence churches, one of which has been restored and spoilt, while the other remains as it was first designed. Under the Revolution it was damaged; but the plan is, nevertheless, intact.

Among the purely Gothic edifices it is difficult to assign a preference, except on the score of some particularity. And they are full of such. No two are alike. At Chartres, the cathedral has two spires; one of them soars straight up without mouldings; the other is ornamented; and the contrast is a piece of admirable artistic effect.

In fact, art exists only by oppositions, Gothic art especially. That is to say, if you have something ornamental, you must have beside it, as a foil, something simple. In Gothic churches, this is always the case. Notice the towers; in the lower portions, they are huge masses of stone, whereas, above, they flower like plants. If Notre Dame at Paris is looked at sideways from the proper standpoints, this can be easily verified. In the environs of Paris, there are numbers of old churches that illustrate the Gothic, the Abbey of Saint-Denis for one. It has been restored; but the grand outlines have not been touched; and, at the distance permitting them to be appreciated, they stand out splendidly. The whole structure is like a child's drawing, a simple yet beautiful drawing of the kind some children know how to make. It is a house with a steeple at the side. At Pontoise, the church has some exquisite details. In the midst of the portal, there is a

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small edicule of the Greek Renascence order; it is charming. At Etampes, Dreux, Evreux, Caen, there are edifices equally remarkable. The finest church at Caen has been restored. It was Renascence Gothic. Now it is heavy. The churches at Troyes were superb; but, since their restoration, the beauty has disappeared. At Sens, there is an exceedingly fine specimen of the Gothic. At Nevers, too, the churches are remarkable.

Our French cathedrals are superior to the English and German ones by the greater sculptural expression displayed in them. In this respect, they are second to nothing outside antique Greek architecture. The German Gothic is characteristically hard. The cathedrals at Strasburg and Cologne exhibit this defect, but, like that at Milan, more on the exterior than in the interior. The interior of the Cologne edifice is very fine, and yet the structure as a whole does not possess that supreme art for lack of which the largest cathedral appears smaller than a small church which has it. Antwerp cathedral is very beautiful, more beautiful than Cologne. Its spire is a veritable crown; soaring, as it does, into the air, it is glorious to behold. At Malines, the church is likewise beautiful; its ornamentation, however, is somewhat poor, the depth of its relief not being sufficient.

One vantage-point from which to behold a Gothic cathedral is, at a distance from it—two or three kilometres from the town. At this distance it seems enormous, magnificent, imposing; all the other buildings of the town shrink into nothingness. The mass of the structure is in straight lines, but so ornamented that the straight line seems to bulge and fill out, which gives to the whole flexibility and richness.

V.

The architects who raised these edifices were endowed with a consummate knowledge of effect. They would appear, indeed, by the works they have left to have been acquainted with every science. It is the greatness of them all, perhaps, which has prevented their names from coming down to posterity. There are, of course, legends about them. Scholars claim to have discovered the identity of some. But, in fact, while handing on to us the purest and best of themselves, they remain anonymous. At most, we may presume that, in the figures they have carved, there are portraits of many designers and workers. It was only at the Renascence that names began to be attached to the masterpieces of

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sculpture. At that time, Philibert Delorme, Jean Goujon, Jean Cousin and others succeeded in perpetuating their fame. At present, if any one travels in France and sees a fine figure carved somewhere—on a tomb, may be—he is told that Jean Goujon or Jean Cousin carved it, simply because nobody knows who carved it; and as the artist's name has perished, it is these later sculptors who get the credit.

VI.

In commencing to study the Gothic, it matters little where the starting-point is. The chief thing is to humble one's self and become a little child, to be content not to master all at once, to be obedient to what Nature can teach, and to be patient through years and years. The study grows easy enough in time. At first, of course, the comprehension is embryonic; you visit one and another edifice; you divine a part of their value, and with each new experience, the comprehension increases. A mind capable of analyzing and coordinating will ultimately succeed in understanding. If to-day there is such a lack in this respect, the cause lies in the neglect of those great qualities of art that are more than originality, and are born from the love which inspires the work.

In one direction the Gothic sculptors surpass the Greek. The Greek temple is the same everywhere, and similarity, identity, is not a culminating quality of art. Life is made up of strength and grace most variously mingled, and the Gothic gives us this. No one church resembles another. Between the churches of one part of France and another, differences exist on a very large scale. The cathedrals of Champagne contrast with those of Burgundy, those of the North still more with those of the West.

To explain why these differences are found is difficult. The race and soil are probably a partial factor. The sky also may have had its influence. The Romanesque style which immediately precedes the Gothic is ordinarily sombre; and yet, if one goes to the banks of the Loire, it will be seen to be as luminous as that of the Renascence. The sombre note prevails most in the north of France, but it is felt also in the south. This Romanesque is the style of the first kings in the sixth and seventh centuries, and persists to a considerably later period. The mixed Renascence and Gothic, which at Rouen is rather hard as well as rather dark,

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assumes in the Loire Valley an infinite splendor. At Chambord the Castle, which I saw before it was restored, was then a structure of marvellous grace and full of light.

In the natural transformation of the Gothic, whatever changes were made took place under the twofold dominating preoccupation of subordinating every detail to the whole effect, and of giving to each detail a depth of finish that produces softness in the mass. This principle is carried out in the smallest thing as well as in the greatest. The tiniest leaf is perfectly chiselled and has its own importance as well as its proper place in the mass. In the Flamboyant style, for instance,—a development that came about during the sixteenth century,—there is none the less simplicity on account of these qualities. Wherever a cathedral strikes the eye as being cold and hard, there is lack of seriation in the details. They stand out by themselves too much on the same plane; and then, even though the values are equal, they do not contribute what they should to the effect of the whole.

The Gothic style itself is a natural outgrowth of the Roman. It is the Roman raised and magnified. When once adopted, it spread throughout Western Europe, the result being an architectural aggregate, the like of which had never been seen before, and perhaps will never be seen again. And the terrible thing is that our restoring of cathedrals is a quick way of destroying these masterpieces. If the Greeks, or afterwards the Romans, in their decadence, had destroyed the Parthenon, we should have known nothing of the veritable grandeur of its builders. In France, there are a considerable number of Gothic churches which have been left alone, because they were not marked on the list, money not being forthcoming for the work of restoration. One of the churches at Tonnerre is an example; the cathedral at Beauvais is another, and one of the finest. This cathedral has no steeple. At a distance from the town the back of the structure can be seen, looking like a living giant.

It is worth noting that the architects of the Middle Ages did not aim at regularity in their edifices, which are often dissymmetric. Sometimes even, the nave is not in the axis. And yet the entire building is beautiful by the very opposition of its values. The fashion now is to speak slightingly of such productions, to apply to them the term "naïve." The word so used indicates inability to grasp the perfection of their execution. A similar affecta-

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tion is that which asserts Greek art has no life in it. On the contrary, for those who have eyes to see, Greek art is all life, but so naturally expressed that ordinary intelligence is apt to pass it by unheedingly. In art we are becoming more and more ignorant, in a century, too, which thinks it possesses great critical power.

The material out of which the ancient Gothic cathedrals and churches were built was a stone curiously small-hewn. Its color varies a little in the different provinces of France, but it is largely gray, or grayish-white. Burgundy stone shows rather more gray, Alsace more tendency to red. In Auvergne rows of black stones are mingled with the gray mass, which is a practice also existing in Italy. It is possible that the kind and color of the stone exercised a certain influence upon the construction; but, in general, Gothic architecture does not seek effects of light by mingling varieties of stone. More exactly, one might say that in the Gothic everything is added for the sake of the monument. In fact, we return to the chiaroscuro previously mentioned—the sculptural expression being the structural expression.

The real home of the French Gothic is the centre and the north of France. It reigns besides in the east, in Burgundy; and it may claim to take in Belgium and even a little of Holland. The Gothic of the south never advanced far beyond the Romanesque. That of Brittany is a trifle heavy and not so fine. In the direction of Poictiers and Angoulême, the style has mostly remained Romanesque, but of a special and admirable kind. I might, indeed, say that it is more Oriental and almost Byzantine. To tell the truth, the Romanesque, lying as it does between the Roman and the Gothic, frequently has in it something of one or the other; and, in particular, there is a period in which it is difficult to say whether the style is Romanesque or Early Gothic. What is easier is to distinguish between the Greek and the Gothic. Both possess to a superlative degree that peculiar reflection of light and shade, due to the sculptural planes, of which I have spoken above. But in the Greek there is more trituration of the light; in the Gothic, more trituration of the shade; or, again, one might put it, the Greek models light, and the Gothic models shade.

It would require a series of photographs or designs to make these distinctions quite evident. I have them all photographed in my memory, a method which is not very convenient for reproduction. A few notes and drawings are my only graphic

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representations; but as I have never learned perspective, my drawings often wobble. This defect in my education often troubles me in my architectural designs, for perspective is a useful science, albeit landscape-painters sometimes neglect it. In sculpture there is less need for it, unless in making bas-reliefs with a distant background. What I know of perspective is by instinct. When I was young, I had an antipathy to geometry, believing it was a cold science that hindered enthusiasm. I have had perforce to acquaint myself with it, since all I do is based on geometry. Life itself is geometrical, a truth I only came to recognize later. The geometry I practise, however, is a geometry of my own,—which is, no doubt, pretty close to the other. I am like the peasant that does not know arithmetic. He reckons in a way peculiar to himself.

VII.

To say what has been my own progress in the study and comprehension of the Gothic would be in detail impossible for me. The study has unquestionably influenced my sculpture, giving me more flexibility, more depth, more life in my modelling. This can be seen in my figures, which have become more mysterious, owing to the more perfect chiaroscuro. Not that I could point in particular to one or another of my productions as an instance of the modification. The influence has entered into my blood, and has grown into my being.

VIII.

The Gothic is not the Gothic because of the period in which it was developed, but because of the manner of seeing of the period. You enter a cathedral. You find it full of the mysterious life of the forest; and the reason of it is that it reproduces that life by artistic compression, so that the rock, the tree—Nature, in fine—is there; an epitome of Nature. It is a mistake to imagine that the religious conceptions of the time were able to bring forth these masterpieces, any more than the religious conceptions of today are responsible for the ugliness of our modern structures. The ancient edifices gained their beauty through the faithful study of Nature practised by the Gothic sculptors. Their only ideal was the vision they had of her; quite as much as the Greeks, they drew from her all their power; and, in like manner, I find my inspiration in my model. The charm of the subject comes from that. I am opposed to the doctrine which holds that the

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idea leads, that it ennobles the work. I believe rather that it is the strength resulting from labor which adds to the idea. Of itself, our idea is poor. This theory may seem commonplace; but, at any rate, it better explains the hundreds and hundreds of splendidly artistic buildings—churches and abbeys as well as cathedrals—that came into existence during the Gothic period, many of them hidden away in country nooks which need exploring for these treasures to be discovered. Compared with similar Italian edifices they are much superior. In fact, the Gothic in Italy is less developed, too, as regards the number of its buildings. There, painting and sculpture have been more separated from architecture, and exist more for themselves; especially worthy of mention are the painted windows and tapestry. In France, also, there is no lack of beautiful windows and tapestry; and what adds to the value of them is their being really part of the Gothic interior they adorn. Ruskin has written well on these things; I believe it was his book which brought so many English-speaking people to visit them. We have writers of our own to-day, Huysmans among others, who introduce descriptions of them into their literature; but one does not get much benefit by reading them. A visit to the church is more profitable, or, failing this, to a museum like the Trocadero, where plaster reproductions of some fine specimens of Gothic architecture may be seen. The stained-glass windows painted in recent times make little or no impression on us, because the tones are false. Those of the Gothic period raise one to the heavens. They are copied from the flowers of the field, not from imagination; and the men that painted them pored over the tints and shades of the plants and blossoms they had under their eyes, until they had succeeded in reproducing them exactly as they saw them. I insist on this point, for it is Nature that is celestial. They who give us windows now proceed in another way.

In order to reform our present stereotyped methods of art, we want a second Renascence. For a long time I hoped that in a near future this might be; but I have ceased hoping to-day. It would require a catastrophe capable of overturning and changing everything. Of course, I am speaking of what is likely to happen in the next twenty-five or fifty years. Life is eternal; and, sooner or later, things must alter for the better. But so far, in our modern architecture, I see nothing that gives encouragement.

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We have intelligent men who are sufficiently educated. They copy everything; they ferret out the style of Nineveh, as well as the styles of Louis XIV and Louis XV; but what they produce is without soul, without art, and is insignificant. They repeat, but only as the parrot does. For long years, we have done nothing but turn out from our colleges young men stuffed with useless scientific lumber; and they very quickly lose it all, and there is nothing to take its place. This is not to be wondered at when throughout Europe there is such a neglect of art in our education. It may be replied to me that the inventions of science compensate for the deficiency; but these inventions are almost exclusively, if not quite, a mere increase in the power of the bodily senses and faculties; the telegraph in that of the tongue, the telephone in that of the ear, the railway in that of the legs, the photographic science in that of the eye; and these inventions leave in ignorance the more intellectual part of the individual. Your portrait can be taken, your voice boxed up; this is extraordinary; but the soul which commands, the god which is in the head, is forgotten.

And yet the means for altering this state of things is near at hand, is beneath our eyes. We have still the same Nature that inspired those anonymous sculptors to give us the Gothic; we still have a sufficient number of Gothic masterpieces intact—so many epitomes of Nature, as I have said—to show what can be done by the man who starts with his vision open to her teaching.

I make no fetish of the Gothic sculpture. I do not claim for it what it does not possess. A contrast to the Greek,—a complement of it—inferior to it in some respects, superior to it in others, it is one of the most wonderful phenomena that the genius of our race has manifested. And if we are to advance in art beyond the stationary position we occupy at this moment, we shall only do so by a thorough comprehension and appreciation of the beauties and qualities that are peculiar to it.*

AUGUSTE RODIN.

* Dictated by M. Rodin to a stenographic reporter, and translated from the French by Frederick Lawton, M.A., author of the "Life and Work of Auguste Rodin." (Grant Richards, London, 1904.)

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SHOULD COLLEGE STUDENTS STUDY?

BY CHARLES F. THWING, LL.D., PRESIDENT OF WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY AND ADELBERT COLLEGE.

A COMMITTEE of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences of Harvard University recently made a report regarding the amount and the quality of the work done "in satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts." Among the conclusions reached by the Committee is, that "the average amount of study" is "discreditably small."*

The basis of this conclusion lies in the replies made by no less than seventeen hundred and fifty-seven students to letters of inquiry sent by the Committee. The replies indicate that the average amount of work done by the undergraduate in a course which represents three hours of lectures or of recitation each week is less than three and a half hours a week outside the lecture-room. The usual studies taken by the Harvard student represent four courses of three hours each a week. In preparation for the duties involved in each of these four courses of three hours each, every man, on the average, spends about three and a half hours. In other words, the ordinary student, in addition to twelve hours spent every week in the presence of the instructor, gives fourteen hours to study. Twenty-six hours, therefore, each week, represent the formal scholastic labor of the student.

The figures concerning the more than seventeen hundred men show that a few spend not over one hour a week in preparation for a course of three hours, and that a few devote to preparation between seven and eight hours. The lower extreme is covered by twenty-one, and the upper by twenty-nine, students. The number who spend between one and two hours is forty times greater than the number who spend not over one; and the number who spend be-

* "Harvard Graduates' Magazine," June, 1904, page 619.

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tween two and three hours in preparation for a course is about three times the number of those who spend two hours or less. The men who devote from five to six hours to a course are somewhat less than one-half those who spend less than two hours.

The comment of the Committee upon this condition is significant: "Such an amount of work the Committee regards as far too small. That there is intellectual activity in Harvard College no one who knows its students can doubt; and, in spite of many interests besides study, much of this activity is exercised in college work. Yet it is clear that a great many undergraduates do not study so much as is necessary for the full benefit of a college education."

The conclusion and the commentary are impressive. Harvard College has come to be generally recognized as having secured a leadership in American education. At the last Commencement, her great President said: "Harvard University has already a perfectly secure past. That, gentlemen, is a treasure laid up where neither moth nor rust can corrupt. The *past* is safe. Again, the present is sure; we need not for a moment imagine that the influence of Harvard, its power over the young men, its power in the community at large, is diminishing or to diminish. The present, too, is safe. This *is* the first university of the land, and we say unanimously we mean it shall stay so." The question, therefore, is somewhat significant, whether, under the condition which, in the opinion of Professor Briggs, chairman of the Committee, and of his associates, obtains at Harvard College, it will be possible for Harvard to maintain that intellectual and scholastic leadership which now, by common consent, belongs to her.

Yet, be it said, the situation at Harvard is more open to defence than the statement of the Committee would seem to allow. For it is easy to argue that college represents opportunity, as well as duty. Men who go to college at the age of eighteen, and who receive high intellectual training for three or four years, ought to have wisdom enough to know what they want, and strength enough to get what they want, from such conditions as Cambridge embodies and offers. If these men want the education which is derived from hard intellectual toil,—the education of thinking,—they ought to have a chance to get it. If they want the education which is the result of large and general learning,—the education of culture,—they should also find the doors of knowl-

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edge open to them. If they want the education which comes from the administration of undergraduate activities,—the education of efficiency,—they should and do find in the complex academic life occasion and methods for securing it. If they want the education which follows from associations "steeped in sentiment," and from conditions which "whisper the last enchantment of the Middle Age,"—the education of intelligent gentlemen of leisure,—then, by all means, they should have the opportunity of getting *that*. Does such an education, the education of intelligent gentlemen of leisure, prevent the giving to other men or the getting by other men of the education either of thinking, or of culture, or of practical efficiency? Would not the debarring of such men of general intelligence and of leisure from the college be evidence of narrowness in those who would set up such limitations, and would not such a method prove to be a cause of intellectual poverty in the community?

For it may still be suggested that the college means far more than books, lectures, recitations, study. College is, as Professor F. H. Hall, of Harvard, has said, "a place for high aims, high opportunities and high spirits. It is a place for work, but also for freedom, for association, for good-fellowship. Songs do not originate in professional schools. Coming between the long drill of school and the long warfare of professional life, college is peculiarly the place for elasticity of mind, for election, for growth of purpose."* Are not these conditions and forces of tremendous worth? Has a college a right to deny them to men who will make good use of them?

Are not these intimations, furthermore, rendered yet more impressive by the conditions which obtain at old Cambridge, at Oxford, at Berlin and at Bonn? Are not these universities only opportunities? Do they oblige any man to toil? Are they not the embodiments of scholastic liberty? Do they not give, or seek to give, what each wants? Do not the English universities give freedom, even if they do not give science; and do not the German give both freedom and science? If one wills to think, to think is the privilege they offer. If one wills to be stupid, "accumulated libraries leave us leisure to be dull," as Hazlitt says. If these youngsters choose to be "young barbarians all at play," they need not go far for sport. Is Harvard, or any other world-wide Amer-

* "Harvard Graduates' Magazine," March, 1901, pp. 334, 335.

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ican college, to step aside from the great traditions of the Cam, the Isis and the Rhine?

Such, therefore, are some of the considerations which might be urged in behalf of the right of doing a "discreditably small" amount of work which, it is said, obtains in what is commonly acknowledged to be our greatest American university.

But the arguments for the proposition that it may be well for Harvard to step aside from the great traditions of England and of Germany, and to adopt certain other traditions, which also obtain in certain quarters both in Berlin and at Oxford, are yet stronger. For it may be declared with the utmost earnestness that the college is set not to give men of eighteen or of twenty years of age what they want, but what they ought to want. It is set to satisfy right desires, if they do exist; it is also set to create worthy desires, if they do not exist. For many men of twenty are, as Matthew Arnold says, "young barbarians." Young barbarians neither know, nor wish to know, what civilization is. The barbarianism is in them and it has to be eliminated. Is the college not ordained, in such a case, to reach down to the callow man, or to cause that man to reach up unto itself, and in reaching up to find himself becoming less callow and more of a man? Is it not founded to save men from themselves? If men be indolent, is it not to show them the joy of labor, to reveal to them the opportunities of work, and to impress upon them the obligation of hard service? If a man is inclined to be content with an education which consists simply of intellectual conditions and which is not impressed by intellectual forces, is the college not to seek to quicken him by the revelation of the highest ideals of character and of power? Does not the individual himself lose by refusing to regard the college as a place and method for training in thinking? Does he not become less of a man through failing to enter into the richest life of humanity, which life is, primarily, a life of intellect and of spirit? Does not the college increase and broaden the lines of least resistance to immoral indulgences for a man whose intellect she neither instructs nor disciplines? Some men of fifty would say that their college had not dealt fairly with them, if, receiving them at the age of twenty as her students, she had failed to oblige them to read the best books about the best things, and to give hard thinking to hard subjects. Lord Rosebery, speaking at Oxford recently, lamented the wasted opportuni-

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ties of his own university career, and denounced the temptations to idleness which beset the Oxford man of to-day.

It is to be remembered, moreover, that the college is a trustee for the higher things of American life. John Morley says, in his great "Life of Gladstone," that the "connection between the higher education and the general movement of the national mind engages his profound attention, and, no doubt, deserves such attention in any statesman who looks beyond the mere surface problems of the day." The "connection between the higher education and the general movement of the national mind" is quite as intimate in America as in Britain. In a world ravaged by intellectual and ethical evils the college is a training-school in thinking and willing, for men who are called to aid in the struggle to put an end to these evils. The college is an experiment station where theories may be discussed and applied. If the theories prove satisfactory, a wider application is assured; if the theories prove to be a failure, little harm results. The college is a *standardizing* power or process in which principles may be examined and rules tested for use in the complex conditions of the world's life. It is set to train men, men of largeness, of clearness of vision, of purity, of strength, of honesty, of appreciation of the beautiful. Such men are not made by a quiet dwelling in the home of "lost causes," of "forsaken beliefs" and of "impossible loyalties." Out of great struggles great men are born. Tolerance, courage, patience, power of observation, judgment, honor, noble purpose, are among the qualities which are both cause and result of hard and constant labor. Such are the elements which constitute a great nation. The college is a trustee for the nation, and should train its men to work and to work hard.

Thus, therefore, not a little may be urged in favor of permitting college men to work three or four hours a day. But more, very much more, may be said for their working at least six or eight hours a day. Going to college and working little is good; going to college and working much is better, very good. One needs simply to consult and follow the laws of value. First things are to be made first, and secondary things are to be made second. The college student should, indeed, be other than a student. But he should, at least, be a student, and a hard one, too.

CHARLES F. THWING.

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RAILWAY RATES.

BY W. MORTON GRINNELL

AMONG the statistics published by the Bureau of Labor, the following table shows the increase in the price of the chief commodities and in railway rates from 1899 to 1902: 100 representing the average price of commodities from 1890 to 1899:

Railway Rates.

	1899.	1902.	Advance.
Passenger	93.9	96.8	2.9
Freight	86.3	90.2	3.9

Prices of Commodities.

Farm products	100.0	130.5	30.5
Food, etc	98.3	111.3	13.0
Cloths and clothing	96.7	102.0	5.3
Fuel and lighting	105.0	134.3	29.3
Metals and implements	114.7	117.2	2.5
Lumber and building material	105.8	118.8	13.0
Drugs and chemicals	111.3	114.2	2.9
House-furnishing goods	95.1	112.2	17.1
Miscellaneous articles	97.7	114.1	16.4
All commodities	101.7	112.9	11.2

The comparision is still more striking when the year 1898 is taken, and the list of commodities confined to those entering chiefly into railway construction, maintenance and operation:

Railway Rates.

	1898.	1902.	Advance.
Passenger	96.2	96.8	0.6
Freight	89.7	90.2	0.5

Prices of Commodities.

Fuel and lighting	95.4	134.3	38.9
Metals and implements	86.4	117.2	30.8
Lumber and building material	95.8	118.8	23.0
Miscellaneous articles	92.4	114.1	21.7
All commodities	93.4	112.9	19.5

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The tables are interesting as showing that, while the prices of all commodities have advanced, on an average, 13 points, and fuel, metals and lumber 25 to 35 points, railway rates have only advanced fractionally. There is, however, the further and most important factor in the case, that of labor. Statistics show that the average wages of railway employees have increased quite fifteen per cent. since 1898.

As concrete examples of the position of the railroads, with respect to the increased cost of labor chiefly, we have the last annual report of the Pennsylvania Railroad. This road is the oldest, the most conservative (in spite of its recent departure from its traditional policy), and the most liberal towards the public and its employees.

The organization of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, as it is popularly known, is very complex, consisting, first, of the roads operated north and east of Pittsburg, *i. e.*, the Pennsylvania Railroad Division, the United Railroads of New Jersey Division, the Philadelphia and Erie Railroad Division and the Buffalo and Allegheny Valley Division; second, those operated indirectly; and the lines west of Pittsburg, which are operated by the Pennsylvania Company. As showing the proportionate increase in the cost of labor on the lines east of Pittsburg operated directly by the company, I give a few statistics:

Pennsylvania Railroad Division Increase for 1903 over 1902 in wages paid:

Enginemen and firemen	$369,799 15 or 9%
Roundhousemen	166,988 82 or 17%
Locomotives, fuel for	1,112,504 60 or 25%
Conductors, baggagemen, and brakemen	229,087 37 or 6%
Yardmen	346,495 84 or 17%
Switch-tenders and signalmen	76,725 75 or 13%
Watchmen	27,019 99 or 11%
Station agents and clerks	152,340 23 or 13%
Station labor	102,905 08 or 10%

United Railroads of New Jersey Increase for 1903 over 1902 in wages paid:

Enginemen and firemen	$154,143 58 or 13%
Roundhousemen	23,743 58 or 10%
Locomotives, fuel for	438,693 23 or 22%
Conductors, baggagemen, and brakemen	121,068 41 or 12%
Yardmen	112,624 25 or 10%
Watchmen	14,454 47 or 5%
Station agents and clerks	99,840 93 or 10%
Station labor	87,602 66 or 4%

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Philadelphia and Erie Division Increase for 1903 over 1902 in wages paid:

Enginemen and firemen	$125,320 00	or 20%
Roundhousemen	29,157 00	or 23%
Fuel	304,000 00	or 35%
Conductors, baggagemen, and brakemen	122,000 00	or 22%
Yardmen	88,700 00	or 25%
Station agents and clerks	295,000 00	or 28%
Station labor	20,000 00	or 15%

While the increase in equipment would necessitate a larger number of employees, this proportion is relatively small, much the larger part consisting in higher wages paid to old employees.

The annual reports of the Illinois Central and the St. Paul Railroads show the same condition of affairs. The increase in operating expenses of the Illinois Central for the year ending June 30th, 1904, was 9.91 per cent. or $2,957,000, of which advances in wages represented over 40 per cent., while the St. Paul shows an increased cost of $737,064 in labor alone, and in material and supplies of $1,400,000.

We see, therefore, that in one year the increase in the cost of labor is about 10 per cent. in the Pennsylvania, and in the Illinois Central and St. Paul nearly as much.

Thus, since 1898, the railways have been obliged to pay from 15 per cent. to 50 per cent. more for labor, fuel and all materials which they use, while their rates for passengers as well as for freight have advanced but fractionally, and are much lower in this country than in England, France or Germany, although labor and most materials are much higher here.

In this connection it is interesting to read what Mr. Priestly, the expert English authority, has to say:

"The present prosperity of the United States of America is, in no small extent, due to the low rates charged for transportation. This prosperity has reflected itself in an increase of wages all round, which, in its turn, has increased consumption and consequently production. These high wages are not due to the necessaries of life costing the laboring classes in America more than they cost the same class in England. It is only the style of living which is better. At the back of it all there is, no doubt, the Protective Tariff; but that would have availed little without the cheapening of the cost of transportation. . . .

"In India, pooling and the territorial division of traffic are permitted, and railways are not only allowed, but are encouraged to protect themselves against competition. American railways enjoy no such protection (any act which tends to restrict competition is illegal), but have been

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left to work out their own salvation as best they could. They have consequently been obliged to devote their efforts to reducing the cost of transportation, and the great bulk of the traffic can now be carried at rates which, a few years ago, were held to be impracticable and spelt bankruptcy. . . .

"Previous to the lowering of the rates by competition, consumption of many commodities was confined to a limited class of people, and to that class in a limited quantity. The lowering of rates not only brought these commodities within the reach of a wider class of consumers, but enabled the previous consumers to increase their consumption.

"To restore the railways to solvency, it was not possible to put up rates, even if this had been desirable with the experience before them, and the railway officials were forced to devise methods which would permit their carrying the traffic at these low rates and at the same time earn a dividend for the stockholders. The alert American mind was not long in devising those methods, and to-day railway rates for goods traffic, judged as a whole, are lower in America than in any other country in the world. . . .

"They (American railway men) have managed to do what no other country in the world has done, and that is, carry their goods traffic profitably at extraordinarily low rates, notwithstanding the fact they pay more for their labor than any other country."

The whole history of the railway industry is the story of a wonderful evolution. In its infancy, all communities were so anxious to profit by this new method of transportation that franchises, lands, and subsidies were lavished upon any group of individuals who would build a road; while, when the road was built, any rates which it charged were cheerfully and willingly paid. Human nature would be more than human if it waved aside the franchises, privileges and money thrown at it; and, while the better and more far-sighted men exercised some moderation and rendered the best equivalent possible in services for the advantages received, the more unscrupulous secured every advantage, every privilege and all the money possible, and rendered as little in return and at as exorbitant a price as possible. These were the golden years for promoters, construction companies and builders of railways, and expensive ones for the public; who, however, comparing the new with the old methods of transportation, willingly paid the heavy charges laid upon them and, nevertheless, made money and prospered. There were two great periods of this feverish and reckless railway-construction: from 1845 to 1857, and from 1866 to 1889, with varying intermissions, until the inevitable reaction began. Railways had been built far in excess

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of the needs of the country, competitive lines were established where no necessity existed, rates were made as heavy as the traffic would bear, in order to bolster up useless and unprofitable lines and pay large dividends to the stockholders of better ones, and the old gratitude and friendliness of the shippers and the general public gradually changed into a deep-seated hostility.

Partly to blame for this condition of affairs was the hugging of the fetish of competition, unrestrained and *à outrance*. This false economic theory, ingrained in the minds of most men, frequent unscrupulousness in taking advantage of the craze of all communities for railroads and more railroads, and the credulity of the public in believing that any and all roads, in any section of the country, were gold-mines in another form, all led to the inevitable periods of disaster, receiverships and reorganizations, which occurred with every period of depression, until in the decade 1890-1899, even many of the oldest and best roads were subjected to these drastic processes.

In 1895, '96 and '97 more than seventy per cent. of the capital stock of the railroads in the United States paid no dividends, and more than fifteen per cent. of the funded debt paid no interest. At the end of this period, most of the inflation which had existed in many roads had been adequately punctured, and the bonds and stocks represented very generally money invested in the railroads.

Chastened as they were by this long and trying experience, and having learned a few economic truths, the managers were prepared to perform their duties to the public in a different spirit and manner from that which had hitherto generally prevailed; but the hostility which had become so general could not be immediately transformed into good-will.

Hostile legislation had been everywhere enacted, not only hostile, but irrational; taxes were increased and new ones levied.

The attitude of animosity which the Interstate Commerce Commission has assumed towards railroads is a reflection of that which has prevailed for many years—almost a generation—among the public. It should not, of course, exist in a *quasi*-judicial body, but as the composition of the Interstate Commerce Commission is affected by the usual political reasons, it is not unnatural that it should, consciously or unconsciously, represent the animus of its creators. This sentiment of hostility towards railroads, fortu-

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nately decreasing, would probably disappear with a fuller knowledge by the public of the railway industry.

Whatever the failings of the great railway managers are, they cannot be accused of stupidity, and they have learned the lessons which, in the earlier period of railways, managers might be excused for not apprehending: that harmony aids and friction retards progress; that unrestrained competition is as destructive as other warfare; that railways can only prosper with the prosperity of the country through which they pass and of the country at large; that large traffic at low rates is preferable to less traffic at high rates; and that railroads are *quasi*-public corporations and owe a duty to the public.

That the Interstate Commerce Commission, instructed by the frequent overrulings of its decisions by the Supreme Court, has endeavored to examine more fairly into the propriety of increases in railway rates is evident from the report and opinion of the Commission *in re* advance of freight rates, in the case decided on April 2nd, 1903; as is apparent, also, their utter inability to cope with the subject. In this very important case the following roads were represented: Michigan Central, Lake Shore, Pennsylvania, Baltimore & Ohio, Wabash, Erie, New York Central, Southern and others.

With regard to the contention that, as the prices of all commodities and of labor have advanced, the railroads are justified in advancing rates, the Commission had this to say:

"The second reason is, that they should be allowed to increase their revenues owing to increased expense of operation. The whole claim stated upon the hearing, in varying forms, comes briefly to this: The present prices of commodities are high, therefore they can pay a higher freight charge. Times are good and railroads should share in the general prosperity; but high prices of materials and labor add to the expense of operation, and gross revenues must therefore be increased.

"Plainly the character of the question thus presented is entirely different from that of questions previously considered. It is no longer a question of what the traffic will bear, but rather of what the public should bear. Conditions are such that this rate *can* be advanced as between the people who pay it and the stockholders who receive it. Is the advance right? Every question as to the reasonableness of a rate may present itself in two aspects. First, is the rate reasonable estimated by the cost and value of the service, and as compared with other commodities? Second, is it reasonable in the absolute, regarded more nearly as a tax laid upon the people who ultimately pay that rate? The considerations

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which determine the first of these aspects are of but little weight in determining the second, which we have now to consider.

"Every such inquiry involves the idea of some limit beyond which the capital invested in railways ought not to be allowed to tax other species of property. What is that limit, and how can it be fixed?"

It is a matter of common notoriety that the Post Office Department, which costs the public several millions a year in addition to the "tax" represented by stamps, could be run at a profit by a private corporation and the third and fourth class matter carried free, and so with all other departments of government, whether Federal, State or Municipal.

The question of governmental ownership is not, of course, entertained by serious men; although it is a favorite panacea of theorists, socialists and cranks whose heroic efforts and propaganda are usually coincident with some new and fresh scandal in a Government department.

Adequate but scientific supervision of *quasi*-public corporations, however, would be welcomed by all the better class of railroads, whose only complaint is that the Interstate Commerce Commission does not represent this type. A purely political body occupying a nondescript position, it has neither the power nor the knowledge to do effective work. Its crude conclusions are usually reversed by the Supreme Court, but that is a long way to go for a decision on rates, and the complexity and technicality of the issues involved put an unnecessary burden upon that body, and one which it should not be called upon to perform.

In the Michigan Central case, for instance, which involved a most important principle, *i. e.*, whether a railroad was not justified in appropriating a portion of its earnings to the betterment of its property, which (the rates being admittedly low) would seem to affect only the stockholders, the Interstate Commerce Commission reasoned as follows:

"But it may be urged that after paying its fixed charges, taxes and dividend out of its net income for the year 1902, it had left but a comparatively small amount. That year was one of prosperity, and it can hardly be expected that conditions will continue without interruption as favorable. Ought not a railway to be allowed to accumulate, in some form, a surplus during fat years which may tide over subsequent lean years? To this we would unhesitatingly answer in the affirmative. In times like the present a railroad company should be allowed to earn something more than a merely fair return upon the investment; but we

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also think that it clearly appears that the Michigan Central is doing this.

"Within recent years this railroad, in common with many others in the United States, has been extensively improved. Grades have been eliminated, curves reduced, wood bridges replaced with those of iron and stone, station buildings rebuilt, equipment of all kinds greatly added to. All this has been rendered necessary, partly by increase in traffic and partly by the desire to handle this traffic in the cheapest possible manner; and it adds very materially to the value and the earning capacity of the property. Now, in so far as these outlays are reasonably necessary to keep the property up to its former standard, or perhaps to even a higher standard of operation, they are properly a part of the operating expenses of the road, but when they add to the earning capacity of the property, and therefore to its value, they are in the nature of a permanent improvement. Assuming that the stockholder is only entitled to exact from the public a certain amount for the performance of the service, he clearly has no right to both receive that amount in dividends and add to the productive value of his property. The policy of the Michigan Central has been to make these improvements, not by adding to the debt or the capital stock of the company, but out of its gross earnings as a part of the operating expenses."

This is hardly encouraging either for the large capitalist or the small investor. What a long distance we have travelled from the day when the State of New Jersey gave the Camden and Amboy Railroad the exclusive franchise of roads throughout the State forever, or from the days of huge land-grants and millions of subsidies! Thousands of millions of capital having been lured into investments in railroads by the attitude of the States and the public, the owners are now told that they are entitled to earn *something* on their capital. The time has been, and is liable to come again, when railroads had much better take up their tracks, abandon their franchises and realize on their assets what they can, instead of carrying on a ceaseless fight for existence, and for an adequate return for the capital and labor employed.

W. MORTON GRINNELL.

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THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR: ITS LESSONS FOR GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES.

BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL A. W. A. POLLOCK, EDITOR OF THE "UNITED SERVICE MAGAZINE."

It has long been recognized in the United Kingdom that the defence of the British Empire is a naval much more than a military question: first, because the loss of Sea Power would involve starvation for the inhabitants of the British Isles, and, secondly, because it would preclude the possibility of sending military reinforcements to defend Colonial territories and Dependencies. In the case of the United States, however, it is but recently that an awakening to the importance of Sea Power has taken place. Beaten at sea, the United States would eventually be vanquished, not so completely, indeed, as Great Britain in like circumstances, but, nevertheless, sufficiently. The United States could not be starved, but could be brought to the verge of bankruptcy by a prolonged interruption of foreign trade.

Recognizing the importance of possessing naval strength, the people of the United States have wisely determined, not only to increase the fleet, but also to construct the Panama Canal, so as to facilitate speedy concentration upon either coast of the American continent. So far, so good. Invasion of United States territory is clearly impossible (even if it were not otherwise beyond the strength of any Power in the world), provided that the United States navy is victorious. The question of an incursion over the Canadian frontier need not be considered, because war with Great Britain is a contingency that may be dismissed, not so much because "blood is thicker than water," as because the intimate community of interests would render such a war highly unpopular in both countries; and, further, because neither branch of the Anglo-Saxon race has any desire to gratify the enemies of

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both by indulging in a fratricidal struggle. Mexico may also be disregarded. Similarly, so long as the British navy commands the sea, no part of the British Empire, except India, stands in any serious danger of invasion, Canada, for the reasons already stated, being almost absolutely safe.

Thus to Great Britain, and also to the United States, Sea Power is the bed-rock of national security. But a building offers only a very imperfect habitation, however secure its foundations, if its walls are insecure and its roof unsound. Such, however, is the strategical nakedness of the two richest countries in the world.

It is not, I think, stretching imagination too far to suggest that Great Britain or the United States, or the two in alliance, might not impossibly have found it necessary to attempt the part now being so well sustained by Japan in the Far East. Under any of the conditions named, the fate of the Russian fleet would have been much the same. British or American torpedo-boats would have been as daringly and skilfully handled as were the Japanese, and probably with the same promptitude. Moreover, the results of the action at sea, which followed the sortie of the Russian fleet from Port Arthur, would have been more immediately disastrous to the latter, because, unlike the Japanese, the British or Americans, having other ships in reserve, could have afforded to close upon their opponents in a finally decisive action, and would certainly have done so. But afterwards?

Will any sane person upon either side of the Atlantic venture to assert that Great Britain or the United States, or even those two Powers in alliance, could, under existing conditions, have put in the field an army capable of doing what has been done by the Japanese? I trow not. The utmost that an allied Anglo-American army could have achieved would have been the defence of the neck of Korea, if happily it could have arrived in time to forestall the Russians. As for a prosecution of the offensive into Manchuria and the military siege of Port Arthur, we should no more have been equal to such a task than we would be to capture Berlin or Paris. Neither of us has an army. That is the plain truth. It is all very well to boast of the thousands who volunteered for service in the Philippines and in South Africa; we must not forget that those volunteers who so eagerly flocked to the front were not, as a rule, very long about clamoring to be

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sent home again. Nor must we deceive ourselves by supposing that our volunteer troops were, in either case, fit to fight the stubborn battalions of Kuropatkin. The handfuls of British and American regulars would have been expended before long; and we should have had no troops at our disposal wherewith to replace them, except a circling stream of volunteers, returning home as soon as they had become fit to fight.

Americans talk stoutly enough of their determination to enforce the Monroe Doctrine, indirectly as well as directly. But is it so certain that the military power is in hand for the purpose?

Great Britain talks similarly of defeating any Russian attempt on India by reinforcing her army in that country, and also operating upon the flank of the invaders, by virtue of Sea Power. Theoretically, this sounds simple enough; but, practically, success is by no means assured, because there is no apparent reason why Russia should not be represented by an army far stronger than Great Britain has at present the smallest hope of encountering successfully. A few hundreds of miles of railways (built, very likely, to a great extent with British capital) in Persia, and the troops of the Tsar might be massed on the northwest frontier of India in hundreds of thousands.

America has emerged from her shell and asserted herself as a World Power; but her potentialities on land are unequal to the position which she has assumed. So, also, it is with Great Britain. In both cases, there are fleets that would buzz round like angry bees, and sting hard enough, no doubt; but the naval sting having been victoriously applied, there would thenceforward be no power wherewith to prosecute the original success. That such conditions should be permitted to prevail, by two peoples who pretend to much common sense and also to no little patriotic fervor, is to my mind incomprehensible. On both sides of the Atlantic, Jingo songs are enthusiastically sung in the music-halls, upon the slightest provocation; but that the individual citizen owes any duty of personal service to the State does not enter into the minds of one in a hundred of those who sing.

Both of us have our Militia and Volunteers enlisted only for that hollow sham, "Home Defence." What would it profit the United States to have 5,000,000 National Guards breathing defiance against invaders who had no intention of invading—not being fools; or what would it profit the United Kingdom if 5,000,-

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000 Volunteers were similarly inviting the enemy to come on if he dare? Nonsense! If the day ever comes when either the United States or Great Britain is reduced to defending home territory with land forces, it will mean that the naval power has been broken, and the sponge may as well go up at once. Great Britain might hold out for three months, or the United States for three years; but the end, in either case, would be a proportionately increased measure of misfortune.

It is commonly said that neither Great Britain nor the United States would allow the destruction of the other. Perhaps not; yet, if the one were first to be defeated, the other might possibly be unequal to restoring the balance. Such questions, however, are outside my present purpose. *Defence,* in both our cases, is a naval matter; Great Britain has already a tremendous fleet, and the United States is engaged in creating one. Let it be granted that Great Britain is now invincible at sea, that the United States will in due course be the same, and that a quarrel between the two is impossible. The fact still remains that "ironclads cannot climb hills," and that either country might be engaged in a war, such as that now being waged by Japan, in which, without a large army, matters could not be pushed to a satisfactory issue.

The "free-born Englishman," like the "free-born American," appears to treasure, as one of his most highly prized liberties, his immunity from any legal obligation to defend his country by the only efficient means—attacking the enemy. Each maintains a small regular army, which is expected to support, vicariously, the burden of national defence which the bulk of the citizens decline to touch with one of their fingers. Trusting that our hearths and homes are safe, we shut our eyes to everything else. The danger to Great Britain is greater than to the United States; but, to each in its degree, the sufferings caused by a prolonged state of war would be immense, no matter how successful the navy might have been in sinking, capturing or blockading the hostile fleets.

Let us suppose a fulfilment of the evident desire of Germany for a coalition with France and Russia, with a view to a mutually agreeable settlement of the Far Eastern question. It is quite clear that Great Britain, in such an event, is bound by treaty to range herself upon the side of Japan, and that her potentialities would be limited almost entirely to naval operations. The French

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and German fleets in European waters would give the British Navy ample occupation, for some time at all events; and, meanwhile, it is by no means certain—assuming the Russian Baltic Fleet to be still undefeated—that the French and German ships in the East would not counterbalance the British Pacific Squadron; in short, an Anglo-Japanese naval disaster is within the bounds of possibility. Needless to say, the Japanese armies in Manchuria would then be in a very dangerous situation.

Should the final result of the war be unfavorable to the Anglo-Japanese forces, it is easy to foresee the result. The Far Eastern markets would become close preserves of Russia and Germany, and those two Powers would fling some fair-sized bone to France, the assistance of the French being no longer required. Does the United States seriously imagine that any regard would be shown for her interests in those regions? None whatever, beyond what she might be able to protect at the sword's point—that is to say, none at all. Great Britain having been disposed of, the United States would become impotent; and, obviously, the converse is no less true. The law of self-preservation, consequently, demands that Great Britain and the United States should, without avoidable delay, declare their joint intention to prevent the exercise of any exclusive influences, by any Power or Powers, in the Far East; let it be, by all means, a "Self-denying Ordinance"—in a word, the policy of the "Open Door." There is no need whatever for the two countries to enter into the entanglement of a general alliance; but it is, I think, imperative that they should combine their forces in the Far East in defence of the very similar interests that are vital to both of them. We may be certain of this, that if Great Britain, or the United States, stands by whilst one of them is being overmatched, the turn of the other will follow soon after.

France is now on very friendly terms with Great Britain, and is traditionally a friend of the United States; but the French are an honorable people, and, whatever and wherever their real sympathies, we need be under no delusion as to the certainty of France's fulfilling to the letter her treaty obligations to Russia. A general conflagration would be easily enough kindled, and could not be quenched without great losses to the world at large. What is most needed is that the owner of every political box of matches that could be employed for the purpose shall be made thoroughly

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aware of the consequences to himself, should he venture to use one of them—namely, all the punishment that Great Britain and the United States might be able to give him.

Meanwhile, let us, on both sides of the Atlantic, begin earnestly to set our military houses in such order that, if unhappily we find ourselves called upon to fight, our opponents shall have good cause to regret having forced us into the field. Without strong armies we cannot fully prevail, and neither in Great Britain nor in the United States is there at present an army, available for oversea service, of anything approaching to the necessary strength. Both of us are commercial nations, desirous of remaining at peace; and, for that very reason, it behooves us to be so strong that none will venture to take liberties with us.

A. W. A. POLLOCK.

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THE POLITICAL ECONOMIST AND THE PUBLIC.

BY JACOB H. HOLLANDER, PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL ECONOMY IN JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

THE development of economic thought has been affected at intervals by more or less formal consideration of the relative extent of its subject-matter and the proper scope of its inquiry. Originally conceived as the art of domestic government, Political Economy became at the hands of the Physiocrats and their immediate precursors a systematic study of the phenomena of wealth. Two influences, emanating from the philosopher-scientists of the early eighteenth century, and together summed up in the historic ambiguity of the term "natural," contributed to this end. First, the existence of economic uniformities was asserted; and, second, the possibility of basic rules of economic conduct was assumed. Similarly, Adam Smith, starting from an academic discussion of "Police," in logical development of the teachings of Pufendorf and Hutcheson, passed with growing sense of the importance of the subject, and under the personal stimulus of the *Economistes*, to a full consideration of national well-being. Professor Sidgwick has pointed out how this transition from Political Economy, as a branch of the art of government, to Political Economy, as an analysis of wealth phenomena, is actually crystallized in the "Wealth of Nations." Explicitly defining the purpose of economic study as the first, Adam Smith in fact devoted the bulk of his treatise to an analysis of public welfare.

The drift of Political Economy away from rules of economic administration to an analysis of wealth phenomena was aided by the intellectual reaction that followed the excesses of the French Revolution. Economic doctrines, and pre-eminently the doctrines of the new economic liberalism, were identified throughout Europe with French principles and the revolutionary spirit. In

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1793, three years after Adam Smith's death, Dugald Stewart still hesitated to give, even before a select audience, any detailed account of the "Wealth of Nations." And Mr. John Rae cites Lord Cockburn's testimony to the fact that, when Stewart first began to give a course of lectures in the University of Edinburgh on political economy in the winter of 1801-2, the mere term "political economy" made people start. "They thought," he says, "it included questions touching the constitution of governments, and not a few hoped to catch Stewart in dangerous propositions."

But the determining force in the transition of Political Economy from a body of precepts to a body of principles was the circumstance that, with the dawn of the nineteenth century, the analysis of wealth phenomena ceased to be exclusively the concern of pamphleteers and special pleaders, and became the subject of deliberate and systematic study by a widening circle of keen and influential minds. The "Wealth of Nations" required too much thought and reflection to be popular, lamented David Hume within a month after its appearance, and the readers of the day, fresh from the pages of the "Decline and Fall," might well have found the Scotch philosopher turgid and prolix. But by 1800 the work had reached a tenth edition; its influence upon political thought was evident; its impress upon political action was in part realized, in part foreshadowed; Dugald Stewart's lectures at Edinburgh were crowded, and young men like Francis Horner, Samuel Romilly, Sydney Smith, George Grote, James Mill, David Ricardo and Thomas Robert Malthus were turning from natural science, from legal studies and from literary activity to earnest pursuit of the subject whose prosecution involved keen intellectual pleasure and whose results stood in intimate relation with urgent practical affairs.

It is doubtful whether economic study has ever been pursued with the same intentness and enthusiasm as in England during the period, roughly speaking, of the Napoleonic War. The reflection is seen in Mrs. Marcet, in Maria Edgeworth and in Harriet Martineau. "It has now become high fashion with blue ladies to talk political economy, and make a great jabbering on the subject," wrote Maria Edgeworth in 1822. And again: "Fine ladies require that their daughters' governesses should teach political economy. 'Do you teach political economy?' 'No, but I can learn

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it.' 'Oh dear, no; if you don't teach it, you won't do for me.'"

Indeed, contemporary evidence abounds. For example, Francis Horner—that brilliant young scholar-publicist whose too early death surely meant grave loss to the progress of economic truth—had read the "Wealth of Nations" before he was seventeen, had followed Dugald Stewart's lectures in Edinburgh thereafter, and was devotedly engaged in economic study while practising at the bar in the Scotch capital.

He describes in his journal, under date of April 30th, 1801, his systematic manner of approach: "In the afternoon Lord Webb and I made our second attack upon Smith's 'Wealth of Nations'; and finished, for the present, the subject of division of labor. Our mode of reading is, first to go through each chapter with a minute attention to the accuracy of the argument, endeavoring at the same time to recollect all the illustrations by which we can either confirm, contradict, or modify his general principles; when we have read as many chapters as make a complete subject of itself, we review the whole in a more general manner, and take a note of such subjects of future investigation as seem necessary to complete the theory." From the detailed study of Adam Smith, young Horner passed to the writings of the *Economistes,* finding comfort in Lauderdale's remark that he (Lauderdale) "had repeatedly left the study of the '*Tableau Economique,*' cursing himself for a blockhead." When Smith's perplexing fifth chapter on value and price proved a maze, he sought the clue in the currency tracts of Rice Vaughan, Harris, Bodin, Lowndes and Locke.

It is to this fact of earnest and enthusiastic study, rather than to any formal principle of schematization or methodology, that we must ascribe the Ricardians' easy use of the term "the science of Political Economy." When Ricardo writes to Hutches Trower: "I am very sorry to be obliged to agree with you that there are a very few who are perfect masters of the science of Political Economy," or when he states that it is in the domain of taxation that "the most perfect knowledge of the science is required," the concept of science which he has in mind is a body of principles relating to the production and distribution of wealth, obtained by systematic observation of actual phenomena on the part of a group of capable minds, and made useful by affording governments the possibility of wise economic policies.

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Sixty years after the "Wealth of Nations" was published, at the very close of the first half of the century and a quarter that go to make up the modern history of economic study, virtual unanimity had been reached as to the changed purpose of economic inquiry. Rules of governmental conduct had passed from primary to secondary endeavor, and, conceived as a science, Political Economy had become the study of the phenomena of wealth, having for its object the formulation of a body of abstract principles, which should be capable in their application of shaping public policy in economic affairs.

In 1837, Senior formulated the distinction by differentiating *theoretical political economy,* which "explains the nature, production, and distribution of wealth," from *practical political economy,* which "ascertains what institutions are most favorable to wealth." John Stuart Mill and Cairnes took practically the same view, and with them, and after them, the majority of English writers of the earlier school.

The tranquil acquiescence into which economic thought had thus fallen in the late thirties, with respect to accepted *dicta* of the province and subject-matter of the science, was rudely shaken in the course of the next generation by three distinct influences, about which centre the sustained and often acrimonious discussions of the proper scope and method of economic science, that constitute a distinguishing feature of the second half of the modern history of economic thought.

From France came the message of the unity of social phenomena and the concept of a master science of sociology. From Germany came protest against the doctrines of economic universalism and perpetualism, and insistence upon the principle of historical relativity. From England came the gospel of economic development and the evolution of industrial organization. Comte, Roscher and Spencer—with their prototypes Hegel, Savigny and Darwin—represent the great forces that, in succession, first shook the structure of economic science to its very base, and then inspired its extension and fortification.

We are still too near the scene of conflict to require any review of its events. As so often in the history of science and, preeminently, in the history of economic science, that which had come to overthrow remained to influence and to be influenced. The principles of industrial evolution, of economic relativity and

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of social interdependence entered into the very heart and essence of economic study, and left their mark in a changed and bettered condition. If the din of doctrinal battle no longer resounds, it is not because of abandonment or surrender, but because a sane and honorable *modus* has been arranged.

In but one corner of the field does the struggle yet continue. A handful of doughty spirits are still bravely hammering one another, in theoretical determination of the precise bounds of economic science. Yesterday, it was as to the interrelation of Economics and Ethics; the day before, of Economics and Mathematics or Statistics; to-day, it is the respective provinces of Economics and Sociology, on the one hand, and of Economics and History, on the other.

To this sustained dialectic I shall venture no further contribution. Whatever advantages, in the nature of precision of thought and economy of effort, attend the solemn partition of an undiscovered country must long since have been attained. Further debate suggests the waste of scholastic controversy, barren in result and mischievous in the suspension of positive investigation, in the blunting of mental acumen and in the diminution of public respect.

A far more promising service than the text-book demarcation of the kingdoms of knowledge seems to lie in a comparative survey of what, in default of a more exact phrase, might be termed the "pace" of economic science. Political Economy has for a hundred years or more been a going concern, the subject of sustained and deliberate study. It seems high time to pause and inquire as to the relative efficiency of its devotees. In what relation does the achievement of the economist stand to that of his fellow scientists? According as he has forged ahead or fallen behind, the economist must teach to, or he must learn from, those who are speeding to the same goal, although by other courses.

If recourse be had to the readiest empirical measure—public estimate—we are left in no manner of doubt that the progress of Political Economy, as tested by the practicability of its application, has been incomparably slower in degree and less in result than that of coordinate sciences. For example, at the present moment there are three great economic problems disturbing the consciousness of the American people: Trusts, Tariffs and Trades-Unions. It should be as natural and proper for the pub-

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lic mind to turn to the scientific economist for specific and definite guidance with regard thereto as for the farmers of the arid regions to harken to the physicist as to the efficacy of concussion as a means of rain-making, or for a municipal administration to turn to a pathologist for counsel as to the best method of dealing with epidemic smallpox. Each of the three economic problems can be simplified, if not solved, by the determination of an underlying principle. The public will know how to deal with industrial combinations, when an answer has been given to the query: "Is there an assignable limit to the size of the modern industrial unit, and, if so, what determines it?" The tariff question will speedily enter upon a new era, if clear light be thrown upon the precise relation of labor cost and industrial efficiency. The *crux* of trade-unionism is the determination of a natural law of wages, and, no less important, a practicable method of ascertaining it. In each of these directions, the economist might properly be expected to meet, indeed to anticipate, the public appeal for counsel, and in each of these directions the economist, within the ken of the ordinary man of affairs, has been mute.

Unless, therefore, the economist is to acquiesce with a resigned fatalism in a condition of affairs—of which my illustrations are, I believe, fairly typical—it is imperative that there be profounder searching of heart and more accurate scrutiny of fact, for explanation of the loss of popular respect for economic study and of the decline, at best partially arrested in our own day, of the economist's influence in public affairs.

A generation ago, Arnold Toynbee asserted that "the wage-fund theory was the great cause of the unpopularity of Political Economy among working-men." More recently, President Hadley, after deliberate inquiry, explained the smaller practical influence of the economist in government and administration as due, first, to the transition of Political Economy from an art to a science, with a corresponding loss of clearness and precision in its propositions; second, to the use of precedent rather than scientific analysis by the courts as the basis of the adjudication of modern economic problems; third, to the neglect of collective interests and to the checks upon administrative power in the organization of modern representative government.

But, whatever truth resides in these analyses—and there is

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much—fundamentally and in the last instance, the distinctly, nay, the distinctively unfavorable attitude of the public mind towards economic theory can only be due to one or more of four causes:

First, the public mind may be inherently opposed to accept scientific leadership in the formation of its economic opinions, in something of the same sense that the late Mr. Spencer noted that men who would instantly disclaim judgment in problems of the natural science would, without correspondingly greater equipment, give out-of-hand verdict upon complex questions of social policy. Or, second, it may be that economic phenomena, in their complexity, variety and inaccessibility, defy, beyond a certain point, that productive systematic inquiry which we term successful scientific study. Or, third, the tribe of economists may be intellectually inferior to their fellow scientists, or, at least, less well equipped in those particular mental requisites which go to make up the successful scientist. Or, finally, the methods and the apparatus employed by the political economist may be relatively inefficient.

If Political Economy as a subject of scientific study has any right to be, we must of necessity reject the first three of these hypotheses and concentrate our attention upon the fourth. Such a procedure is, moreover, encouraged by the complexion of existing facts. It requires the barest observation to realize a startling contrast in method between Political Economy and any of the actively pursued natural sciences. Let us turn for a moment to Chemistry, where within recent years the bounds of organized knowledge have been extended with the most brilliant results. In so far as the layman may speak, it appears that modern chemical —or, for that matter, physical or biological—study involves three consecutive stages: (1) inquiry and research, (2) experiment, (3) theorization. Associated with these essential activities are the complementary processes of initial conjecture affording a tentative working plan; formation of trial hypotheses in result of investigation and for submission to experiment; and conversion, by demonstration, of theory into law. But, in the main, chemical science advances from truth to truth, from probability to certainty, because a body of mature workers, equipped with intimate knowledge of the achieved, are busy marshalling and classifying facts, searching for and formulating uniformities, testing hypotheses and demonstrating laws.

If we return now to the domain of economic science and to the

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scene of economic study, the contrast is fairly startling. We find a body of capable and devoted workers, and a definite and inviting subject-matter. But here, to any appreciable degree, the parallelism stops. There is no collecting and classifying related data, in their qualitative aspects, no tentative selection of economic uniformities, no verification of hypotheses by reference and experiment. As against the chemical investigator in his laboratory, deliberately and systematically gathering a particular group of facts, and formally submitting the sequences which they suggest to comparison and test, with a reasonably well-established hypothesis as the ultimate endeavor, we have a corps of student apprentices busy upon historical and institutional monographs; a group of younger scientists absorbed in academic duties, and a body of sages engrossed in doctrinal discussion. A single category has rarely been used to include two things less identical than the term "scientific" in reference to chemical and economic study, respectively. If the one be, the other is not. It is a difference in kind, not in degree, of which the contrasted terms "deductive" and "inductive," "experimental" and "*a priori*," suggest the consequence, not the cause. Some further interpretation of this remarkable distinction is demanded.

A score of years have elapsed since the coincidence, roughly speaking, of economic investigators and economic issues effected a renaissance of economic study in the United States—synchronized by the organization of the American Economic Association in 1885. Within that period, every important university of the country has found it necessary to provide more or less abundant opportunities for economic instruction, increasing numbers of capable students have gathered for training in economic investigation, and economic science in the United States has come to be studied with a vigor and an activity unequalled in any European country, and unsurpassed in the case of any of the natural sciences in this. But the method of investigation has been narrow. On the one hand, we have permitted the Comptian influence and the "extreme Historismus" of the German school to justify economic microscopics; and, on the other hand, dismayed by the vast area, the extensive activities, and the scattered data subject to economic inquiry, and poorly equipped both in requisite resources and opportunities, we have refrained from attempting comprehensive induction.

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In consequence, economic investigation in the United States, although pursued with unexampled activity, has been almost exclusively historical or institutional, on the one hand, and local or intensive, on the other. Of extensive economic investigation, economic induction in the proper sense of the term, little has been attempted and less achieved. The historical evolution of economic institutions as revealed in more or less accessible records, the functional activity of economic organizations as displayed in limited areas—these have defined the scientific activity of the ordinary economist. Of the comprehensive study of the history, structure and functions of any actual part of the economic organism, we have had infrequent example.

In the field of local finance, for example, we have had, on the one hand, faithful historical studies of the finances of particular States and cities and of particular fiscal institutions, and, on the other hand, we have been given intelligent analyses of the present financial status of specific localities. But the investigator has probably not yet attempted—understand, I do not say *completed*—an exhaustive study of local finance in the United States, in the spirit in which we may conceive the chemist or the physicist approaching a corresponding problem. Similarly, the institutional history of the negro in certain States has been traced, and his present status in certain limited localities has been described. But the larger subject, the negro in the United States, taken in its scientific entirety, is still untouched.

Turn where we will, a similar condition prevails. Railroad transportation, trade-unionism, taxation, industrial combinations, tariffs—as fields of investigation—have been approached only fragmentarily, historically or locally. Brought face to face with extensive subject-matter, economists have shown the white feather, and solaced their souls in the thought that comprehensive study of any important economic institution might properly be postponed until such number of detailed monographs, dealing with specific aspects of the subject, have been completed as will permit full exposition and safe generalization.

Monographs have multiplied; doctoral dissertations have accumulated, and the progress of economic science, as judged by results, has been imperceptible. The experience of twenty years seems to suggest that the prime usefulness of intensive economic studies is educational and local, and that variety of approach, dis-

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tinctness of treatment, change of environment are grave qualifications under existing conditions, of the value, and certainly of the economy, of large reliance upon this monographic method of economic investigation.

The proposition which I venture to submit is that the time has now arrived when, without any necessary cessation of historical and local studies, the economic investigator—and, in particular, the economic investigator in the United States,—if he is to attain his highest scientific possibility, must adopt a larger mode of inquiry, a mode analogous to that employed by the physical scientist, and described as extensive or experimental rather than intensive or institutional. He must derive his subject-matter not from past history alone, nor from the present experience of restricted localities; but he must observe and collate the phenomena under consideration from an area practically co-extensive with their manifestation; he must interpret each group of facts in the light of the conditions prevailing in that particular place; and he must test the uniformities revealed by reference, as tentative hypotheses, to conditions in still other localities.

If he is attempting safe and useful generalizations, he must consider, for example, the taxation of corporations not by one State, but by every State. He must study the structure and functions of trades-unions, not with respect to a handful of labor organizations and a few convenient cities, but in the light of the policy and practice, declared and actual, of every important national labor-union, as displayed in many representative localities. In a word, the basis of economic induction must henceforth be, to a much greater degree than heretofore, qualitative data, amassed as deliberately and laboriously as chemical or physical data are collected by the natural scientist in his laboratory, and approximating in comprehensiveness the quantitative material the public statistician makes available with increasing efficiency.

The successful conduct of economic investigation along the extensive or experimental course thus outlined involves the use of a group of workers, instead of the individual student, as the unit of research. Until such time as the number of independent investigators will have greatly multiplied, the well-equipped department of Political Economy in the University will, naturally, be the prime agent of scientific activity. Such an economic laboratory or seminary will include not only a directing and teaching staff

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and a body of students actually in residence, but affiliated workers in the field and associated beneficiaries of subventions desirous of operating from an academic base. A particular body of contemporary economic phenomena will be selected for collective, rather than cooperative, investigation; and specific aspects thereof will be assigned to individual workers for research in accordance with an organic plan. A student showing special interest in or capacity for investigation along lines other than that selected for collective effort, will be encouraged to follow his particular bent; otherwise, his energies will be directed, by deliberate assignment, to the seminary topic. Class instruction and the use of bibliographical and documentary materials will serve as the preparation for systematic laboratory and field work.

In regard to books and documents, the investigator must be able to command, in addition to ordinary library apparatus, all primary documentary material relevant to his inquiry, whether it be as ephemeral as municipal reports and trade-union journals, or as unobtainable by formal request as trade agreements and corporation records. Similarly, he must be able to publish the results of his investigations in the precise form which scientific fidelity or practical usefulness demands, without regard to their commercial attractiveness or to the limited resources of existing scientific agencies. A more liberal policy of library administration and a more intelligent appreciation of the proper relation of publication to investigation in the social sciences, have improved conditions in the past few years, as to these two requisites.

It is with respect to field and experimental work that the occasion for largest change exists. Extensive investigation, as distinct from historical study and local inquiry, must bear the same relation to Political Economy that field-work does to Geology and the clinic does to Medicine. The immediate environment will first be utilized as an economic laboratory for the development of scientific spirit in economic study and sound method in economic research, and as the field from which bases of working hypotheses may be derived. Thereafter, the investigator will extend the range of his inquiry by visits to, and even residence in, representative localities, with a view to collecting wider and more varied data and to testing tentative conclusions.

Such a procedure involves two essentials: leisure and resources. The investigator's time and energy, if not entirely available for

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scientific inquiry, must certainly not be unduly absorbed by the routine engagements of the student or the teacher. To the extent that he is still a student or instructor in academic attendance, opportunity for extensive inquiry must come with greater prominence of field-work and laboratory exercise in economic instruction. Economic teaching can properly harken to the message of the physical sciences, that the ideal of student training is less the accumulation of detail than the development of a mode of thought. An association, of course; a reduction of lecture attendance; a unification of seminaries; and, most important of all, the utilization of the long summer recess for field-work—will ordinarily effect an economy of time which will make possible that amount of experimental inquiry demanded both by student development and scientific progress.

With respect to resources, the investigator must be in command of funds sufficient to enable him to visit and, upon certain occasions, temporarily to reside in representative localities for the purpose of gathering additional evidence and of testing and verifying tentative conclusions. To some extent, such funds can be made available by a modification of the fellowship system, the original purpose of which, the attraction of students to postgraduate study, has ceased to be necessary, and the further extension of which along existing lines threatens serious evils. Beyond this, aid may be anticipated from cooperation with governmental agencies and with endowed institutions of research. But, most of all, university authorities must recognize that "investigation funds" are as essential to scientific activity in Political Economy as laboratory apparatus is to Chemistry and clinical provision to Medicine. It seems reasonably safe to venture the opinion that less and less will lack of material resources operate as a handicap, and that, as long as the method be sound and truth light the way, economic investigation will probably receive as generous an equipment as the economic investigator desires.

In short, I urge a closer parallelism in method of investigation between Political Economy and Physical Science. Comparative study can fairly well replace deliberate experiment. Beyond this, we need but a larger equipment and a common spirit. Heretofore, the economist has adapted his method to his resources. Let him now demand resources, made necessary by this method.

JACOB H. HOLLANDER.

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BIOGRAPHY.

BY WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

BIOGRAPHY is that branch of history which has been cultivated least successfully. The annals of civilization cover twenty-five centuries, but how few are the first-rate biographies! Is this because Biography is the final product of History, as Portraiture is of Painting?

Plutarch, the supreme ancient biographer, flourished at the close of Rome's imperial expansion, long after the golden age of Greece had become only a memory. He drew the portraits of the most conspicuous public men of seven centuries, with an art so excellent that he can still teach us much. He opens to our view not only the individual careers which made and unmade empires, but also the familiar concerns of classical antiquity, the life of the household and shop and market, the anecdotes, the superstitions, the customs and rites. Had Plutarch's books been lost, we should have lost more of the human than Thucydides, Livy and Tacitus could ever supply.

So, too, the Old Testament has gained its immense hold over later peoples, not merely because it contains the religion of the Jews, but because it abounds in biography. Abraham, Isaac, Joseph, Saul, David, Joshua, and how many more, are drawn with such unsurpassed fidelity that a child recognizes the lifelikeness and a philosopher wonders at the perfection with which they typify phases of universal human nature. Can we suppose that, if the tale of our modern biographies were closed, we should hand down to readers two thousand years hence such treasures as we find in the Old Testament and in Plutarch?

And yet individuality never took more varied shapes, it was never more interesting, than in the nineteenth century, which produced specimens of almost every type known to earlier ages,

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besides adding, in great profusion, new types of its own. One reason why we have overlooked this growing richness in individuality is that we have been absorbed in watching the formulation of the doctrine of evolution, the capital achievement of the century—the doctrine in which, when first posed, the individual seemed to wither and the world grew more and more. In the fathomless vistas it revealed, the single human life shrank to a speck. Individuals were studied, not for themselves, but as links in the numberless chains that stretch from the Unknown to the Unknowable. Not the man, but his pedigree; not the specimen, but its series; not the idiosyncrasy, but the likeness, were all in all. It followed naturally, when historians took a survey through this cosmic telescope, that with them too the collective should prevail over the special. The career of a tribe, a nation, a race; the growth and decay of institutions; the birth and flowering and death of religions, philosophies, polities, arts; the mystic importance of the soil out of which all springs, and of the climate which each must breathe—these are the topics which have chiefly engrossed historians during the past fifty years. Bent on discovering general principles, or at least on tracing the continuity which endures beyond the individual life, they have rightly disregarded the exceptions; and the result of their labors is such that no eulogy can overpraise it.

The fascination of treating history in this way is intense. How proud a thing it is for mortals, whose earthly term is but a span, to range through time, lording it over centuries or millenniums, as the astronomer ranges through space! We crave to know principles, and, having discovered them, to reduce this miscellany of a world to order; but life is far deeper than the principles by which, at one period or another, we interpret it. And when the eager search for them tends to abstractions, let the historian never forget that life is always concrete. Before he can deduce one general law, he must have understood many particular instances: whether he will or not, the historian is thrown back on biography, on the investigation of the careers of individual men.

The historian of a long period, or of an institution, or of a great movement, chafes at the intrusion of individuals: they interrupt his logical sequence; they force him to abate and qualify. Trusting to his evolutionary formula, he believed that he could predicate of mankind in the mass principles as certain as those of

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the mathematician. Very good! But behold Cæsar! behold Mahomet! exceptions to all rules, who plunge in and smash his calculations! There is danger of becoming too cosmic, of seeing human history from a height so remote that it bears no more resemblance to flesh-and-blood facts than a map bears to a continent. The Infinite, because infinite, probably sees only individuals: the generalizing process is the device by which we finite men make up for our lack of omniscience, and manage to deal with multitudes of facts, which, taken separately, would overwhelm us. For fifty years and more, the pursuit of the cosmic has absorbed our best endeavors: the extreme on that side has been touched: the pendulum begins to swing back. Almost unperceived, there is a return to the study of the concrete, of the individual, of the infinitesimal, down to microbes, atoms, electrons. After the cosmos, man interrogates again the microcosm. The dawn of Biography is breaking.

I would not imply, of course, that Biography is more honorable than History; they are not rivals but allies. I wish simply to suggest some of the many reasons why the future of Biography is so promising. An adequate survey of this art, in which we should see the growth of skill in the artists and the changing fashions in the art, has yet to be made.*

In Biography, just as happened in poetry, in painting and in sculpture, the capacity to depict imaginary personages came long before portraiture. The earliest efforts are, almost always, stiff, conventional, Byzantine, not individualized. After a while the public craves more human details, or the biographer has a knack at hitting off a likeness; and so the art gradually increases in efficacy till it is worthy to serve a Plutarch or a Boswell.

We must always bear in mind not only the biographer's skill, but the ideal which he set himself. For centuries fashion prescribed that distinguished personages should be portrayed in their robes of office, just as kings were painted with their crowns on. Nothing was told about them inconsistent with their supposed character. See how little the quaint and delightful Izaak Walton lays bare the real man in his life of Dr. Donne or of Sir Henry Wotton. He introduces us to a worthy, conventionally pious

* Let me remark, parenthetically, that none of our universities, although some of them now offer hundreds of courses and subdivide each subject into very slim sections, has included Biography among its electives, either in History or in Literature.

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divine, and to a high-bred, rather solemn diplomat; yet we know that both of them were full of human nature. Nor did Boswell's example, a century and a half later, break up this tradition. Sparks, in his desire to record nothing inconsistent with what he imagined Washington ought to be, made a mummy of him. The Washington whom I read about in my history at school never seemed to me more real than the wooden Indians which used to stand in front of cigar-stores. Years afterwards, I came upon this statement by one of his officers: "It was at Monmouth, and on a day that would have made any man swear. Yes, sir, he swore that day, till the leaves shook on the trees. Charming, delightful! Never have I enjoyed such swearing before, or since. Sir, on that ever-memorable day he swore like an angel from heaven." These words sent a thrill of satisfaction through me, for they proved that Washington was once alive; and I went on to make his acquaintance.

The fashion of so dehumanizing great men that nobody could believe in their existence, led to the production of memoirs, letters, *chroniques scandaleuses,* in which one sought for evidence, rather sleazy at times, of the human. Latterly, the tide has set so strongly in this direction that now biographers tell everything. Your true German biographer will give you a chapter on Goethe's shoe-buckles, with details as to their cost and size; statistics of the silver-mine from which the metal came; the pedigree of the smith who made them; and, in an appendix, you will find a treatise on the history of foot-wear. No man is a hero to his valet; judging by recent examples, I suspect that valets have turned biographers. And yet this extreme is less harmful than the other; at least, it bespeaks life instead of death. Much of the best biographical work at present is done in disinterring great men, who, like Washington, had been mummified and laid away.

The most lasting interest which we have is our interest in our fellows. Be they great or be they small, we know men and women as individuals, each with his peculiar legacy of form, feature, gesture, character, actions. One attracts us, another repels; but we cannot shake ourselves loose from our interest in them. And so, after we have read History, which perforce blurs the individual in its effort to define the great tides of evolution, we turn again to Biography in order to hear human voices; to catch, if may be, the glance of human eyes; to be reassured that, whatever the

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events, they were woven of the passions of men and women, dead now, indeed, but once glowing with life. Unless the past be revivified, why should it concern us? Little care we for the philosophy of the twelfth century: but hear Héloïse from her convent prison cry out thus to Abelard: "I have renounced life, and stript myself of everything; but I find I neither have nor can renounce my Abelard. Though I have lost my lover, I still preserve my love. O vows! O convent! I have not lost my humanity under your inexorable discipline! You have not turned me into marble by changing my habit; my heart is not hardened by my imprisonment: I am still sensible to what has touched me, though alas! I ought not to be!" This is a voice not from the distant past but from to-day. Hearkening to it, Héloïse and Abelard live again for us, though their scholasticism be dead and gone.

The human touch—every true biography must have that. Recall how when Alcibiades had fled to Italy, some one asked him whether he durst not trust his native country, and he replied: "In everything else, yes; but in a matter that concerns my life, I would not trust even my own mother, lest she might by mistake throw in the black ball instead of the white." Come down twenty-three centuries, and listen to General Grant describing his fear as he led his first regiment in pursuit of the enemy: His heart did not resume its place, he says, until it occurred to him that Harris, the Confederate general, "had been as much afraid of me as I had been of him. This was a view of the question I had never taken before; but it was one I never forgot afterwards. From that event to the close of the war, I never experienced trepidation upon confronting an enemy, though I always felt more or less anxiety." The human touch that makes the whole world kin, Grant has it in this passage.

And, to cite one more illustration, St. Augustine tells us that his mother, St. Monica, wished him to defer being baptized a Christian until he had sown all his wild oats; believing, as she did, that that sacrament would wash his soul clean up to date, so that if he received it too early he might commit other sins which it could not purge. How naïve! What a delightful mixture of motherly solicitude and pious thrift! What light it throws on the sainted woman's conception of the bargain of conversion! We remember that human touch in St. Augustine's "Confessions," long after his religious experiences have become indistinct.

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The human touch—truth to nature—let a biography have that, and it matters not how humble its subject may be. The great captain, whose prowess dazzled his contemporaries, may pale and fade away before the poet, the discoverer, the artist, when their lives come to be written. Rousseau's "Confessions" and Boswell's "Johnson" have been knit, for very different reasons, into the tissue of millions. And by virtue of this human touch, the material for Biography is as unlimited as Democracy itself.

Moreover, our interest in the human goes on steadily increasing. Not satiated by actual men and women, we explore the imaginary world which the romancers in prose and verse create. And here it is worth noting that the unprecedented advance in the art of fiction during the past century has followed the universal democratizing spirit, until now the heroes of novels are not drawn from kings and peers but from any class, high or humble, and that they dwell neither in Fairy Land nor in Castles in Spain, but amid our every-day life. Biographers have not kept pace with novelists in skill to reproduce the actual man; they still work too much from the outside; they should live in the heart and brain of their hero and let us see the very springs of action: for the demand for veracity, stimulated by science and by fiction, has grown so keen that readers will no longer tolerate the old school of biographers, who thought it indecorous to show their subjects in anything less dignified than full dress.

At present, thanks to its finer skill, Fiction has the cry: but under its highest aspect Biography possesses this incalculable advantage over fiction—it is boundless. The masterpieces of the imagination are forever pent within the confines prescribed to them by their creator—we can add nothing to Macbeth, but accept him and try to understand him as Shakespeare chose to draw him: but the great personalities of actual life elude final definition. I no more believe that a definitive biography of Lincoln will be written, than that the world will agree as to the nature and teaching of Jesus Christ. This elusiveness, as of a beautiful horizon always tempting yet never attained, gives to Biography a perennial charm.

One technical reason why Biography will become popular is obvious: the mass of material about modern times is so enormous that to write an extended history, based on original sources, will soon become impossible. The late S. R. Gardiner filled sixteen

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large volumes with his account of England in the first half of the seventeenth century; the future historian who shall attempt to write a history of England during the last half of the nineteenth century will be confronted by ten times more material than the laborious Gardiner had to sift, and his work, if finished, would swell to one hundred and sixty volumes. The lives of great men, even of octogenarians like Bismarck and Gladstone, can hardly be buried under such mountains. Napoleon is, perhaps, an exception; for the material about him is fast surpassing the stretch of one man's industry, although, by judicious selection, the pith can be digested more easily than appears. But history, told through the career of a great man—Cromwell, Washington, Cavour—gains in clearness and human interest far more than it can lose through the tendency of a biographer to exaggerate the personal influence of his hero. Two judges will never agree as to the reaction between the great man and his environment: nevertheless, we shall come nearest to the truth when we take great men at their full value.

For what is the upshot of all life on this earth, from the lowest organic creatures up to Shakespeare and Cæsar, but a crescent manifestation of Will? Among animals and among primitive human beings, Instinct predominates: but, as we ascend the scale, Volition—the deliberate choosing of one policy rather than another, the doing of each deed with intelligent purpose—comes more and more into play. From each accession of this mysterious power, there spring new variations of personality, until Will reaches its highest expression in Great Men. Does not history confirm this? In the most ancient empires, the millions lived almost wholly by instinct, submissive to monarchs who ruled by whim or wilfulness, which is very different from will. But when into a little tribe of Jews this magic sap was poured, it produced among them more striking personalities than the innumerable swarms of Babylon, Egypt and Chaldea had seen. Later, Greece bore within the compass of a century her brood of men great in action, great in thought, great in art, great in character.

If we measured at each period the relative amount of Will and Instinct in each people, we should see more clearly the influence of Great Men. We should see also how, when the acts of Great Men have through imitation been crystallized into institutions, the free expansion of Will is almost invariably checked and a sort of

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secondary Instinct,—that is, Custom, which blindly accepts the institution,—is substituted for Will. Since complete self-expression through the Will, guided by reason and morals, is the ideal towards which mankind slowly toils, every institution becomes a clog from the moment when it restricts the service of its members to the running of its own machinery. Tyranny of whatever kind stands eternally condemned, not because it may be cruel, but because it strives to hold men down to the lower plane of Instinct, whereas all the guides to the spirit bid them rise to the higher plane of Will.

Now, Great Men are vessels or batteries in which are stored vastly larger quantities of Will than average men possess. This power they exercise in many ways. Sometimes they draw the masses after them, as a magnet draws steel shavings; sometimes they compel; sometimes they educate. Let us not forget that the masses are plastic, very little endowed with Will, though often surcharged with passions. They do not always respond to the Great Man's call, and when they do they are not always pleased to crown him. Nevertheless, history presents us a succession of causes, each of which seems, to the popular mind, to have been embodied in some transcendent personality.

One school of modern historians have persistently denied this. Fixing their attention on the long stages of evolution, they belittle or ignore the individual. The man of genius they explain as being merely the product of his time. Dante, they say, did not appear alone: he had Guinizelli, Cino da Pistoja, Lapo, Cavalcanti and others for contemporaries; and his work differed from theirs only in being a little better. As if the merging of an army of Cinos or Guidos could equal one Dante! We measure him not by what he had in common with them, but by what he had and they had not—that residuum was the product not of his time but of himself. The qualities which make Shakespeare Shakespeare could never be compounded by taking this gift from Marlowe, that from Jonson, a third from Webster, and so on through the Elizabethan line.

When they come to political history, these historians see movements but not men. Fatalism, of the lower depressing sort, haunts them. In the largest sense, we are all fatalists: but in our daily affairs and in our moral life we cannot be, for Conscience and Will are undeniable facts, even though they too be regarded as manifestations of universal Fate. Since Destiny operates through

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the human will, surely the historian should learn all that he can of the few men through whose will Destiny shapes the course of human affairs at each epoch. The fatalists say that, in the evolution of modern Europe, "Napoleon was a negligible quantity," thereby assuming that the result would have been the same if he had never lived, because some other soldier would have leapt into the saddle and ridden the Revolution. This is mere speculation, which is not the historian's province. But examine it a moment. What are the facts? Dumouriez, Augereau, Hoche, Moreau and many another soldier of the Revolution could not leap into the saddle. Napoleon could and did. Our business, therefore, is not with what might have happened if Napoleon had never lived, but with those special gifts which enabled him to achieve what the rest could not. He did not create the Revolution, but he had the genius, and he alone, to tame it to his private glory. The fatalists urge that circumstances and the right moment really determine: on the contrary, the moment becomes right when genius chooses it. How many times between 1792 and 1795 were circumstances at Paris ripe for such a stroke as Napoleon delivered on the thirteenth Vendémiaire! Till then, it was the man, and not the conditions, that lacked. Or take another example. At the battle of Cape St. Vincent, out of twenty British captains, Nelson alone left the column, made straight for the foe and crushed him. Shall we pretend that Nelson's presence was of no consequence, that if he had not been there, some one else would have displayed his audacity?

I would not imply, of course, that Great Men can exercise their qualities to the full unless conditions be favorable. Many born out of their time, too early or too late, reveal only a potential greatness. The largest dynamo must have the proper conductor through which to drive its power. Had fortune smiled, Doge Andrea Dandolo might have been the centre of such a golden age at Venice in 1350 as Lorenzo the Magnificent actually patronized in Florence in 1490; for Dandolo was Lorenzo's equal in personal culture. Conversely, not every cause has its leader: witness the Crusades. Never before or since has Western Europe been so stirred by a common purpose; and yet, for lack of masterful guidance, one crusade after another either failed outright or gained only a transient success. The masses are imitative, but how can they imitate greatness if its pattern be not revealed to them?

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Many a historical crisis hinged on some apparently slight biographical fact. At the siege of Syracuse, there was a moment when the Athenians, whose position had become untenable, could have retreated: had they done so, the outcome of the Peloponnesian War might have been reversed. Why did they not retreat? Because on the fatal night an eclipse occurred, and Nicias, their general, refused to stir. The next night was too late. The destruction of the Athenian power turned, therefore, on the superstition of one general; for there were other generals whom the eclipse did not overawe. Thus does the personality of men tinge events. We must know not merely a man's politics or religion, his generalship or courage or his whims and vices, but his physiology as well. Frederick II put back to land and abandoned his crusade because he could not endure seasickness. The French lost the fruits of Borodino because, on the evening of the battle, Napoleon had a physical collapse which prevented him from giving orders to pursue the Russians. But for epilepsy in youth, which turned him from a worldly life to the priesthood, Giovanni Mastai Ferretti might never have been crowned Pius IX. Lincoln's humor, so sadly misunderstood during the Civil War, is now seen to have been an essential element in his character, enabling him to shoulder for four years the most herculean burden laid on a modern statesman. I cite illustrious examples, but to the biographer no trifling personal trait is negligible.

The importance of the body as the basis of personality is too evident to require comment. The cause of many acts which have altered history is to be sought in the physiological condition of this or that man. Unfortunately, our records are very meagre, and furthermore medical science has not yet reached that state of precision where it can assert positively that a fatal chain of cause and effect connected given pathological symptoms and established deeds. Frederick the Second's seasickness, which put an end to a crusade, is a capital example of the temporary control of the will by the body. In innumerable lives we perceive how disease checks or distorts or clouds nature. We see plainly enough that opium ruined the magnificent genius of Coleridge, debasing a poet on whom nature had lavished almost all her gifts into a spinner of "Church of England cobwebs," and a metaphysician who spent his energy winding and unwinding endless rolls of German philosophy—as a juggler, after showing you that his

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hat is empty, conjures clouds of tinsel out of it, causes them to disappear, and then shows you the empty hat again: there was nothing before, there is nothing now. Not less real, although often more subtle, has been the action of disease. The intellect, as in the case of Leopardi or Pascal, may do its work unimpaired in spite of a broken-down body, yet we cannot help feeling that his frightful physical condition determined Leopardi's pessimism, however staunchly he denied it. The same disease, of course, affects different persons differently, because deeper than the corporal wrap is the temperament. Parkman was a victim of nervous exhaustion which has certainly not been exceeded in violence or duration among literary men; but it could not hinder him from producing those twelve volumes of history in which you will seek in vain for a sign of weakness. And there are maladies—consumption, for instance—which seem actually to favor creative writing, as if, in compensation for enfeebling the body, they clarified or etherealized the mind. Witness the lives of Keats and Lanier, of Symonds and Stevenson.

The work in this field of the physiologists, led by Lombroso, has been salutary, although we may well question the rigidity of their conclusions. Recently, such investigations as Dr. George M. Gould has described in his "Biographical Clinics," on the origin of the ill health of De Quincey, Carlyle, Darwin, Huxley, Browning and others point the direction in which medical specialists will turn. We must not, however, concede too much to pathological conditions; that is the error of those who accept too strictly Professor Lombroso's conclusions. Any process which tends to regard genius and insanity as synonymous has itself an insane taint. The morbid psychologists refer all their comparison to the Normal Man; but, when we look closely, we find that the Normal Man is an imaginary being to whom all actual men are exceptions. Once on his guard against confiding too implicitly in the infallibility of scientific apparatus, a perfect biographer should be keen to investigate this side of his hero's life, and to compute the influence which constitutional or chronic ills may have had upon it. By singular good fortune, Boswell had in Johnson a subject whose morbid strata were so apparent that, although Boswell does not write from the modern pathologist's standpoint, yet he discloses to any intelligent reader the source of many of Johnson's idiosyncrasies.

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From psychology, too, the biographer will get much aid: yet it is by no means evident whether the real advance in our knowledge of the human equipment will not come through pathology rather than through psychology. Are we not a little imposed upon by new names for old things when we listen to many of the so-called discoveries of the psychologist? We have learned to talk glibly of "reactions," as if they explained anything. We know how long it takes for a pin-prick to be felt, a noise to be heard, a flavor to be tasted; we have photographs of the face in wrath, joy, pain, grief: but have we got any nearer the inner cause? Are these more than studies of the outside, registrations of the bodily vehicles of sensation? To be able to state in what fraction of a second the electric current flashes along the telegraph-wire from Boston to New York, or how many volts it has, tells absolutely nothing about the message it carries, or of the person who wrote the message. If you could put Shakespeare and Dante through the tests of the algometer, would you understand their genius a whit better? Psychology cannot yet penetrate to the causes of personality; but such aid as it can give, the biographer will gladly avail himself of. He will certainly be helped by it to scrutinize his subject more closely, to look in out-of-the-way places for indications of character, and perchance to confirm what pathology has suggested; and he will remember that this science, which is still in its infancy, may have a splendid future. Let him also bear in mind that saying of our master psychologist to-day: "Our knowledge is as a drop, our ignorance is as the ocean."

The truth-loving biographer will welcome the instruments which modern science puts in his hands, but he will beware of trusting them too far. Next to a religious revival, nothing is more likely to promise what it cannot fulfil than a scientific theory just broached. You think you have in it a key to the universe; you discover at last that it simply fits a new-fangled lock to your old front door. If you start with the purpose of proving a doctrine, you will surely fail. Taine, in so many respects the most important French mind of his time, more than once came to grief when he tried to apply his theory of the "moment" and the "environment" to special cases. Trusting to his formulas, he insisted that Alfred Tennyson must have grown up amid luxurious surroundings, and given himself over to a voluptuous life. The

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truth was, of course, that Tennyson was the son of a poor clergyman, that until forty years old he lived most frugally on a few hundred dollars a year, writing his poems in the blank leaves of a butcher's book. Yet Taine was so sure that poetry so gorgeous could not have sprung from such an environment, that he refused to believe the truth. Let the biographer, therefore, free himself from every theory of life and method: the only prepossession allowed him is admiration for his hero, since only by that can he possibly come to an understanding of his hero. In the long run, enthusiasm, though it result in exaggeration, serves better than disparagement to reveal the real stature of a man. Time will correct the enthusiast's magnification; but the belittler's underestimate merely measures himself. When a critic writes, "Emerson is not always as shallow as he seems," we suspect that Emerson's shallows will be deep enough for his critic to drown in.

Let us examine more closely the chief objection brought against the biographic treatment of history,—that it causes us to see human development out of focus. In studying the Napoleonic era, for example, the complaint is made that it transfers our attention from a myriad details of European society, law, politics, war and education, to the opinions and deeds of Napoleon; so that presently we begin to imagine that these colossal facts have only secondary importance compared with what he willed. The evolution of a nation, these plaintiffs might say, may be compared to the growth of a forest, whose millions of trees belong to the same species and have a common stock of soil and climate; how inexact to regard the one giant pine which, thanks to some slight favoring inequality of condition, overtops the others, as if it were of a different higher species. Under similar conditions, any one of its fellows might have grown as tall. Just as the scientific study of the individual, if pushed too far, results in the creation of a fictitious Normal Man, so the doctrinaires who "account for" great men on the theory that they are as wholly the product of their time as trees are of soil and climate, are forced to create a more or less imaginary "time" to produce them. They pick out certain elements of Dante's time, let us say, and frame them into a machine which could not help making Dante; and then they triumphantly assure us that they have "accounted for Dante." But surely this machine, so vast and intricate, composed of all the actual hopes and deeds of that age, and of all the traditions which

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it kept alive from the past, ought to have produced nothing but Dantes, a whole population of Dantes, instead of a single specimen: in fact, however, it produced a Boniface VIII, a Cavalcanti and innumerable other strongly individualized persons unlike him and mutually unlike. This is as if, after we had been told that a century-plant puts forth only one flower before it dies, we should find it bearing roses, violets, goldenrod, deadly nightshade, and scores of other varieties, season by season. The Normal Time, be it that of Cæsar or Charlemagne, of Hildebrand, Dante or Luther, of Washington or Bismarck, is a fiction which might be respected if it did not cause so much misunderstanding. Every sophomore is provided with stock explanations which he firmly believes explain, and, what is worse, his teachers believe it too. We all have our store of cant phrases—"ages of faith," or "of doubt," "the age that built cathedrals," "the scientific age"—with which we instinctively mask our ignorance: as if everybody in the twelfth century built cathedrals, or everybody in 1850 was a doubter! It has become the fashion to select some trait and write a history round it. Versatility was a characteristic of the Elizabethan age; the American emigrants came out of that age; therefore Professor Wendell twists American literature into such shape that it seems to be the continuous revelation of Elizabethan traits. But he labors in vain: "The Day of Doom," Cotton Mather, Franklin, Jonathan Edwards, Joel Barlow, and so on down to Bryant, Irving, Cooper and their successors, were not in the least Elizabethan. One might more plausibly trace the decadence of English statesmanship during the past half-century to the vacuous fashion of wearing a monocle, which, of course, precludes seeing clear or straight; or the decadence of the French to their high-heeled boots, which render a solid footing impossible.

The practice of assuming the conditions that you need to "explain" a celebrated man has gone so far that those who have it do not see its absurdity. It makes writing easy; it gives a certain pleasant air of superiority to a critic or historian; it encourages him to think that he has indeed been permitted to peep behind the veil, and see the causes of things. How confidently Mr. Mabie, for example, discourses in his recent essay on Poe:

"Emerson, Lowell, Holmes, Whittier, Bryant, Irving, and, in certain aspects of his genius, Hawthorne, might have been predicted; reading

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our early history in the light of our later development, their coming seems to have been foreordained by the conditions of life on the new continent; and, later, Whitman and Lanier stand for and are bound up in the fortunes of the New World, and its new order of political and social life. Poe alone, among men of his eminence, could not have been foreseen."

Wonderful, Mr. Mabie! You say in 1899 that you could have predicted in 1839 the coming of all these authors except Poe—and a part of Hawthorne! Why except these? To claim everything would cost you nothing! But since you were debarred from winning the prophet's crown in 1839, as you had not then been born, why do you not tell us who are foreordained to be the great American writers twenty years hence? or why did you not, in 1885, reveal so evident a bit of predestination as that the next remarkable British author, Rudyard Kipling, should within five years emerge from a journalist's den in Benares? The Past belongs to nobody, the Present is pre-empted, but the Future is common property, and offers a fair field to predictions that may or may not be verified.

I cite Mr. Mabie because he passes for an authoritative critic; he simply is the victim of the prevailing system, which has come about from wrenching evolutionary doctrines out of their proper sphere. Take up almost any literary history, and you will find in it the same vicious results. The efforts of the literary historians to deal with romanticism, for instance, are amazing. They invent a formula which they proceed to apply to all writers of the first half of the nineteenth century. The same formula "accounts for" Shelley and Dickens, Byron, Bulwer, Tennyson, Mill, Macaulay, and all the rest. The epoch of Romanticism of course produced Romanticists. Keats was so indisputably a product of his time and conditions—have we not every-day proof that the sons of stablemen take to reading "The Faerie Queene" and classical mythology, and to writing exquisite poetry? If you but recall, it was the fine, rich, wholesome, barny fragrance of "Endymion" which charmed you!

The time will doubtless come when the fatuity of inventing general formulas to explain men of the most highly specialized and contradictory genius will be too patent to require demonstration. Then for an historian to clap the label "Romanticist" on three such different backs as Byron's, Carlyle's and Keats's will

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be seen to be as absurd as to "account for" a camel, a cat, an elephant and a squirrel by saying that they are all quadrupeds; or to account for the oriole and the gypsy-moth by their environment because they inhabit the same elm-tree. Not science, but a mirage of science, causes these aberrations. Possibly, science may discover means now unknown to us for really fathoming the mystery of personality. If it does, we shall know why it was that, among seventeen Franklin children, one was Benjamin and the rest nobodies; or why, among scores of boys bred at Stratford between 1560 and 1575, one was William Shakespeare, and the others, so far as appears, had not one whit of his individuality. But until such means be discovered, let us refuse to be fooled by cheap and specious explanations; and let us not mistake for critical insight the prophesying to-day of things which happened before we were born.

I would not be misunderstood, however, in my endeavor to point out the delusions which flourish under the name of science. Nobody accepts more fully than I do the teachings of evolution, but it is because I believe them to be true, and invaluable in their proper place, that I protest against their misapplication. History must have some unifying principles. If we saw only individuals, the writing of history would be as impossible as to paint a landscape in which every separate blade of grass should be clearly defined. Broad generalizations become indispensable, and no one questions that each epoch—nay, each generation and decade—has certain distinguishing features. But the cardinal error comes when we begin to account for the men of genius, the few conspicuous exceptions, by the formula which we have agreed upon for their time. In general, it is perfectly safe to say that Germans have characteristics unlike those of Frenchmen; but we shall be mightily deceived if we expect every German and every Frenchman to exhibit his national characteristics. Who is your typical German?—Goethe? Schopenhauer? Bismarck? William II? And your Frenchman?—Is he Hugo? Thiers? Comte? Gambetta? Zola? Pasteur? There are Frenchmen saturated with what we choose to assume are the characteristic German virtues: so there are Germans not deficient in French *esprit*.

The truth is that the *Zeitgeist*, or spirit of the time, is not so single as we are apt to assume: hence, another cause of error, when we try to explain genius, or even ordinary men, by the *Zeitgeist*.

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The same era affords sustenance for the most antagonistic personalities. The same *Zeitgeist* guided Leopardi into the Plutonian wilderness of Pessimism whence he never emerged, and Manzoni to the altar of the Roman Catholic Church, where he knelt devoutly all his life. The same *Zeitgeist* breathed round Newman and Mill, Jowett and Martineau, Clough and Maurice; nay, to drive the paradox home, all of us to-day are presumably undergoing similar general conditions, yet with such widely different results that we should resent the suggestion that we have been cast in one mould. The *Zeitgeist,* therefore, is as slippery and changeable as old Proteus—a convenient symbol for general attributes, but quite incapable of explaining individuals. And so we are brought by another path to the conclusion that we can best understand history by studying it through the lives of actual men and women. When we have once felt the plasticity of human nature, the infinite play of variation, the apparently boundless sweep of possibility, and the incalculable effects of Fortune, we shall discard any system which pretends to reduce the world to a series of pigeonholes, or men to marionettes, and which substitutes for the holy mysteriousness of life a garish hypothesis.

And so to conclude. The outlook for Biography, that branch of history which has hitherto been least successfully cultivated, was never more bright. Science constantly invents new instruments for measuring human faculty more accurately. The art of fiction has been teaching us to distinguish the nicest variations of character, and to trace the rack-and-pinion interaction of cause and effect. The issues of life were never more interesting. We stand on the threshold of a new era, in which the individual shall be magnified as he never was before. Pessimists say that Democracy—the railroad, the newspaper, and machinery—tends to reduce the world to a dead level of uniformity: that, as local variations fade away and racial characteristics are rubbed down, the commonplace, the dull, the vulgar, will more and more prevail. This I do not believe. The mighty agents which have been at work for a century have simply brought within reach of millions the necessaries of material and intellectual life which could formerly be enjoyed by only a few. Can what lifted the thousands degrade the millions? These agents, properly viewed, win multitudes from the plane of Instinct to the plane of Will. As the size of the mass

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increases, the field broadens from which the highest types can spring. Democracy means opportunity for variation, and variation is the cause of striking personalities, as the nineteenth century showed.

Since the material and the method exist, is it vain to hope that Biography, taking a fresh start, will go on improving until its masterpieces shall be as many and as excellent as those of the other great arts? May not the lives of real men be written as imperishably as the supreme creations of fiction? Shall Hamlet and Othello, Don Quixote and Tartuffe, shall the master creations of Hawthorne, Thackeray and George Eliot, of Turgenieff, Manzoni and Balzac, have no counterparts in Biography? The spell of the human reasserts itself. We cannot habitually satisfy ourselves with the cosmic point of view. We are not born to look at life through either telescope or microscope, but with our naked eyes. We are men: neither angels nor demons can interest us as much as our fellows.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

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CONDITIONS IN MOROCCO.

BY PHILIP FRANCIS BAYARD.

MOROCCO and things Moroccan have recently received so much publicity in America as a result of the Perdicaris affair, that it is now hardly necessary to state, as it would have been a few months since in speaking to most Americans on the subject, that Morocco is a land distinct from Algiers both geographically and politically, and, although by geographical position the most western of Moslem countries, she still remains, by her obstinate conservatism and by the spirit of rude independence of the Berber tribes who make up two-thirds of her population, the bulwark of Islam, fanatical and uncompromising.

For many years past, tourists in making a "side trip" in Morocco have wondered how it was that this rich country, lying at the very doors of Europe, and in sight of whose shores passes such an enormous volume of the world's trade, has so long escaped the penetration of the modern world, and occupation and partition by the World Powers. They have almost invariably come to the conclusion (after a day or two spent in Tangier in the company of those cheerful liars, the guides) that the dawn of European occupation is at hand; that to-morrow will see the opening and improving of Moroccan ports;* the day after, the building of roads, bridges, and railways, etc.; and that they are lucky in having reached Morocco in time to see the "real Eastern thing," while Western civilization is thundering at the gates.

* Tetouan, Tangier, El Araish, Rabat, Mazagan, Saffi and Mogador are open to commerce. In all these ports, vessels have to anchor at a considerable distance from shore and discharge their cargo on huge barges propelled by oars. Tangier is the only port that remains open practically the whole year. Landing or embarking at the other ports is often rendered impossible by wind and weather for days or even weeks at a time. The remaining ports, Azila, Mehediah, Azemmour and Agadir, are closed to commerce.

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The tourist who has revisited Morocco after an absence of five, ten, or even fifteen years, has found, indeed, signs of the growth of European activity in Tangier and some of the other coast towns; but, as for the penetration of European ideas and methods into the interior of the land, he finds no more sign of it than before, no railway, bridge,* or telegraph,† not even such a thing as a made road. Travel and commerce still wear for themselves across the country irregular and uneven tracks, in summer choked with dust, in winter deep in mire. For want of bridges, travel and commerce, with their trains of mules and donkeys, still wait on the pleasure of the subsiding flood, an hour, a day, or weeks if need be, just as they have done for a thousand years past, just as they expect to do for a thousand years to come. European merchants and adventurers long resident in the country smile incredulously when passing globe-trotters announce to them the impending inevitable transformation of Morocco. The cry of "Wolf! wolf!" invariably followed by the non-appearance of that animal has so often rung in their ears that they have ceased to believe in him. The change that was inevitably impending yesterday, and that inevitably impends to-day, may well continue to impend inevitably forever. Morocco, like the ball sustained in mid-air on the jet of the fountain, ever tosses but falls not into the water below.

As children, we have watched such a fountain with delighted eyes, wondering that a thin jet of water could sustain the ball, and expecting every instant to see it fall. A little to the right, a bit to the left, and the ball must escape; but we have watched in vain for its fall, for, if the jet of water does not fail, the ball may continue to toss forever. Morocco is such a ball. The European Powers are the fountain, and their irreconcilable jealousies have ever been, and may well continue to be, the unfailing jet of water on which the ball maintains

* One can count the bridges in Morocco (outside of Tangier) on the fingers of one hand.

† Tangier is connected with Europe by three telegraphic cables—one English to Gibraltar, one Spanish to Tarifa, and one French to Marseilles *viâ* Oran. Of these, the English is most patronized. The Spanish cable is out of gear on an average of six months in the year. There is an overland wire to Cape Spartel lighthouse, six miles distant, maintained at the joint expense of the Powers represented at Tangier. This lighthouse is, with the exception of Tangier Light, the only one on the Moroccan coast.

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itself in mid-air. Of late, the fountain has shown signs of change; and the ball, tossing on a diminishing jet, seems to be at last on the point of falling. So it seems; but there are indications that the jet of water, spouting forth again with renewed vigor, will send the ball tossing merrily upward, high as before.

It is difficult for an American to form a just conception of the conditions of government in Morocco, almost as difficult as it is for a Moor to form an idea of existing political conditions in Christian lands. The Sultan's nominal dominions extend from east to west some four hundred miles, and from north to south some eight hundred and fifty; but his actual authority is exercised only in spots over this vast territory, according to time and opportunity. Following the Moorish expression, the country may roughly be divided into Blad-el-Makhzen, or subdued territory, and Blad-es-Siba, or unsubdued territory.* Blad-el-Makhzen comprises in normal times the inland towns of Fez, Miknas, Marakesh (Morocco city), Teza, Oujdah, El Kasar, Tafilet, and Taroudant and the contiguous plains; also the whole of the Atlantic coast, with its towns, from Tangier to Agadir, and Tetouan on the Mediterranean with the mountainous country bordering the Strait of Gibraltar. All the rest of Moroccan territory, *i. e.*, about three-fourths of the whole, is included in Blad-es-Siba. But the boundaries between the subdued and the unsubdued territories are ever shifting according to the relative power of aggression of the Sultan and the power of resistance of the tribes. But, although the Sultan's political authority is so far from being universally obeyed, all Morocco, including Blad-es-Siba, reveres him as the religious head of Islam, and pays him tribute, real or nominal, accordingly.

The policy of the Sultans has always been to sow discord among the independent tribes, to set them at each other's throats, and, by throwing the imperial sword into the balance at the opportune moment, to extend Blad-el-Makhzen and hold Blad-es-Siba in check. Your true Moroccan has respect for but one thing —namely, force. In his eyes, clemency and gentleness have ever been signs of weakness and incapacity. The Sultan who rules by violence and cruel oppression commands the respectful

* Blad-el-Makhzen, literally, "government country"; Blad-es-Siba, "country without government."

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obedience and admiration of his subjects:* he who sought to rule by other means would be regarded as little better than a fool.

We of the Western world who have sought to understand the Moor and to make him understand us, to live his life, to see with his eyes and hear with his ears,—try as we may—have found our efforts all in vain. Between me and my companion, by whose side I have journeyed day after day, who dips his hand with me in the dish, there is a great gulf fixed which I cannot pass, which he would not if he could. He is of the year of the Hegira, 622, and I of the year of grace, 1904. I shall never read his heart aright nor he mine.

> "The unfathomable sea and time and tears,
> The deeds of heroes and the crimes of kings,
> Dispart us, and the river of events
> Has for an age of years to East and West
> More widely borne our cradles."

The idea seems to prevail in Europe that, if the Moor could only see what we are pleased to term the blessings of civilization, he would be eager to bring down the shower of blessings that he knows is only waiting for an opportunity to fall upon his country. So he would, if he could look through our eyes; and so we would not, if we could look through his. To him, road, railways and the telegraph mean the entry of the European, the gradual abomination of a Christian occupation, and the establishment of a Christian government. He is willing enough to trade with the Christians, and to let some of them reside in his country to facilitate commerce; he realizes that he could not do without the services of the "necessary," though not "harmless," Moroccan Jew; but as for the opening up of the country, the breaking down of the last barrier that protects his ancient mode of life and thought from the threatening flood of foreign abominations, the Moors are practically unanimous in their determination to do all in their power to prevent it. Undoubtedly, Moors of position and influence have expressed a contrary opinion *to Europeans*. A Moor will never say "no" squarely to any man, except it be to one completely at his mercy. In conversation he will be of whatever opinion you please. Thus

* Such a one was Moulai Ismail, in whose reign the English were forced to abandon Tangier (1683). The Moors long spoke of him with affectionate regret.

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the French have discovered that, among all Europeans, the Moors find *them* the most agreeable. The English and Spanish have also made the same discovery in regard to themselves. The fact is that, in his heart of hearts, the Moor finds that the most agreeable Europeans are those who remain in Europe, the most disagreeable those who come to Morocco.

At the present moment this distrust and dislike of foreigners is directed principally against the French, who are now, by the Anglo-French treaty (April 8th, 1904), left at liberty, as far as England is concerned, to carry out their declared policy of pacific penetration. This policy can only be carried out through the acquiescence of the Moors themselves; and, as they are determined to resist it by every means in their power, it is evident that real penetration can be accomplished only by the forcible conquest of the country. The fact is that the French are incapable of making a pacific penetration in any part of the world. They can no more make such a penetration in Morocco than they have done in Algiers. The history of their operations for the past seventy years in Northern Africa proves this only too clearly. France will be compelled sooner or later to use force; and in that case, no doubt, England will enter Morocco with her, and Germany (so utterly disregarded by the recent Anglo-French agreement) will not miss the opportunity to take a hand in the game and insist on a suitable share for herself. As for Spain, it appears that, by the treaty signed recently at Paris, the terms of which remain secret, Spanish susceptibilities have been soothed and the Spanish "face" saved. The possible concession of zones of influence or commercial privileges in Morocco that Spain may have received by the treaty may well remain a matter of indifference to the French public. When with grave courtesy you offer to your neighbor, a paralyzed octogenarian, the privilege of mounting your thoroughbred whenever he may feel so inclined, you hardly anticipate that your own use of the animal will ever be interfered with. Spain has held Ceuta on the Strait, and the Zafarine Islands, Melilla, Alhucemas and Peñon de Velez on the Rif coast, for several centuries;* but her influence and authority do not extend for more than the distance of a rifle-shot beyond the walls of these possessions, which serve

* Melilla since 1479; Peñon de Velez since 1564; Ceuta since 1580; Alhucemas since 1673; Zafarine Islands since 1848.

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the mother country as penal settlements and the government as places for hungry office-seekers. Spain is manifestly powerless to reap any benefit from a zone of influence in Morocco, or there to establish herself in such a manner as to become in any way a menace to French interests.

The present Sultan, Moulai Abd-el-Aziz, came to the throne in 1894 at the age of fourteen years. For the first six years of his reign, the actual government of the empire was in the hands of the all-powerful vizier, Sid Ahmed Ben Mousa; but, on the death of this functionary in 1900, the young Sultan showed a decided disposition to follow his own inclinations rather than the wishes of his advisers. Among the new ministers called to power after the death of Sid Ahmed, Sid Mehedi-el-Menebhi, as Minister of War, soon became the all-powerful favorite.

The imperial court divides its time between Marakesh (Morocco city) the southern, and Fez, the northern, capital. The periodical presence of the court in both cities and its triumphal progresses across the country produce a wholesome impression on the inhabitants, and cause them to bear in mind the might and power of the imperial government. Another object accomplished by this dual residence is to discourage the attendance on the court of importunate representatives of foreign Powers. Tangier has been assigned to the representatives of the Powers as their place of residence. Here they treat with a sort of imperial delegate unfurnished with plenipotentiary powers. Their claims must constantly be referred to the court at Fez or Marakesh, thus ensuring the workings of a perfected system of procrastination and delay worthy of an Oriental imagination.

In the month of November, 1901, the Sultan, after a sojourn of some years in Marakesh, set forth to return to the North and take up his residence in Fez, making his imperial progress by way of Rabat (on the Atlantic coast), for the direct route to Fez traverses a section of Blad-es-Siba, where His Majesty would have to fight his way through. The Moroccan ambassadors, sent some months previously on missions to Paris, St. Petersburg, London and Berlin, had recently returned and imparted to the Sultan their impressions of European civilization. During his stay of two months in Rabat, he received an English, a French and a German mission. In the wake of these missions, followed a motley crowd of European claimants, commercial agents and

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adventurers; and it was then that the Sultan's proclivity for things European first manifested itself in a manner to attract the attention of the outer world, and at the same time to become a source of scandal and offence to his own people. There began that flood of orders for English thoroughbreds, bicycles, automobiles, photographic material, mechanical toys, steam and electrical engines of all sorts, cabs, carriages, narrow-gauge tramways, etc., etc., which, after the court had installed itself at Fez, rose higher and higher, until the apparition of the Pretender, Bon Hamara, among the tribes in the neighborhood of Fez, compelled the Sultan to put a check on his European inclinations.

The pro-European policy, or rather pro-European drift, of the young Sultan, and the internal disturbances of Morocco occasioned thereby, are largely due to the influence of two men, El-Mehedi-el-Menebhi (now in disgrace) and Kaid Sir Harry Maclean. Kaid Maclean, formerly an officer in the English garrison at Gibraltar, held for many years the post of military instructor at the Moorish court. This personage, though not much in evidence during the reign of Moulai Hassan, acquired from the beginning of the new reign a considerable influence over his successor. He gradually became the confidential friend and adviser of the young Sultan, his master of ceremonies when Europeans were to be introduced at court, and a sort of political, commercial, and financial agent for the government. El-Mehedi-el-Menebhi, who was for some time a common soldier in the service of the old vizier, Ahmed Ben Mousa, who exercised what was practically a regency during the first six years of the present reign, was assigned the portfolio of War in 1900, and rapidly became the favorite minister of Moulai Abd-el-Aziz. When Moorish embassies were to be sent to several European capitals in 1901, Menebhi was chosen to head the mission to London, and with him was sent Kaid Maclean. Their negotiations in London were apparently of a nature highly satisfactory to the British government. Upon Menebhi was conferred the Order of St. Michael and St. George, and Kaid Maclean (henceforth Sir Harry Maclean) was created a baronet. It was after the return of this mission to Morocco that the attempt of the Sultan to introduce radical reforms into the administration of his government, combined with his notorious taste for European amusements and the society of Europeans, caused the smouldering

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sentiment of protest and revolt among his people to manifest itself in the rebellion of Bon Hamara.

This rebellion, which has now dragged on for more than two years, has only once seriously threatened the existence of the Sultan and his government (December, 1902). Some of the tribes of Blad-el-Makhzen have profited by the occasion to exact arms and money from the government as the price of their loyalty. They have naturally not failed to seize the opportunity to settle old scores between tribe and tribe, and to recommence a system of intermittent brigandage along the caravan routes. In the kidnapping of Messrs. Perdicaris and Varley, we have seen how that intelligent and enterprising individual, Raisouli, even succeeded in making a tool of the American and British Governments to serve his purpose in extorting money and other concessions from the Sultan. But the tribes have so little cohesion among themselves, and so little desire for anything beyond the satisfaction of their immediate local interests, that anything in the nature of a general and concerted movement on their part (except in the case where the imperial government is strong enough to force it on them) is not to be expected. The only thing that could, and would, produce such a movement would be the invasion of Morocco by a Christian foe.

The expenses of the war, added to those incurred to satisfy the vagaries of the Sultan and the covetousness of his viziers, have forced the government to contract further debts, principally with the French, thus strengthening the hands of France in her dealings with Morocco. At the same time, the eyes of the Sultan have been opened to the danger of attempting to force the latest methods of European administration upon a people hitherto living under the patriarchal system of Koranic law;* this would be a pouring of new wine into old bottles with a vengeance, which could only result in disappointment and disaster.

El-Menebhi has been made a scapegoat for the disasters that have fallen upon the government since the "modern" policy was inaugurated. Whatever his faults may be, he is at least not lacking in courage and presence of mind, and it is very doubtful whether his successors will act with any more wisdom and judgment than he.

* The Koran is the basis of Moorish law. The Moorish code makes no distinction between civil and criminal law.

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Up to date, the "*pénétration pacifique*" of the French into Morocco amounts to the following: A French company has obtained a contract from the Sultan to build the new custom-house at Tangier. The Sultan has assigned sixty per cent. of all customs dues to the payment of his French debts. A French official has been delegated to each one of the open ports to receive the sums due. The Sultan has been forced into contracting new debts in France. A swarm of French adventurers of all sorts, many of them from the French colonies in North Africa, and among them a fair sprinkling of *bona-fide* settlers with money to invest, lured by the picture held out to them in the French press of a new and rich colony for French colonization, an El Dorado ready waiting to be developed by French enterprise and industry, has poured into Tangier and some of the other coast towns. They have found the cost of living in these towns higher than at home, and the price of real estate as high or higher. They have found that, even where land can be purchased outside of the towns (and the Moorish officials do all they can to prevent its purchase by Europeans), the present insecure state of the country, likely to be prolonged indefinitely, makes the occupation and exploitation of such land absolutely out of the question. Many of these people have already left Morocco in disgust, and not a few have had to ask financial assistance of the French consul in order to return to their homes.

One word more about the Moors. As to the cultured Moors and those whom contact with Europe and Europeans have rendered capable of forming an intelligent opinion in the matter, they seem to think that, in the face of many troubles, internal and external, Morocco will continue to maintain her integrity, in spite of all Christians in general, and of the French in particular. And, as for the great mass of the people, they cherish deep in their hearts that maxim which has always been the solace of the Moor in hours of doubt and disaster: "*Din ennebi irghleb,*" "the faith of the Prophet shall be victorious at the last."

PHILIP FRANCIS BAYARD.

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POVERTY: SOME SUGGESTED REMEDIES.

BY G. P. BRETT.

In Mr. Robert Hunter's remarkable study of Poverty, which has just been published, is given an array of figures which are appalling on account of the distress and suffering to which they call attention; but Mr. Hunter's book, while convincing in its figures, is even more so in its verbal descriptions of the want and destitution which prevail wherever population gathers itself together in towns and cities. It is not, perhaps, a new condition which Mr. Hunter brings to our notice, although the increase in poverty and want is growing much faster, in proportion, than the population of our larger cities; but it has never before, I believe, been so adequately set forth or in a form which is so convincing and interesting, even though it may startle those of us who believe that, in the boundless prosperity of our great country, none may starve or suffer except through fault of their own.

Mr. Hunter would define poverty, as I gather from his pages, as a condition or disease under which the sufferer is underfed, underclothed, and badly housed,—which last term in city life would mean living in an overcrowded tenement, with all the evils, that have been so often described by Mr. Jacob Riis and others, which accompany such overcrowding; and he finds more than ten million individuals in the United States (or something less than one-seventh of the population) in this state of poverty, some throughout the whole year, and some only during a certain part of it. Mr. Hunter's figures, too, include, as I understand it, those who lack only a few of the necessaries of life, as well as those who are in the direst distress; but all in this vast army, in the most prosperous of all the nations of the earth, suffer hunger, feel the pinch of winter's cold without sufficient clothing, and are without any shelter that may properly be termed a home.

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While Mr. Hunter's book is chiefly an account, and a most interesting one, of the conditions of poverty throughout the country, he does not, I gather, hope or look for any great improvement in these conditions during the existence of our present methods of economic distribution, except as such improvement may result from the individual or combined efforts on the part of the charitable workers, which, as has been too often proved, may not seldom be said to extend and foster the evils which they are intended to cure.

The aim of this article is not to discuss Mr. Hunter's very able book, for which task indeed the present writer's equipment is insufficient, but to endeavor to point out some facts in our modern life, of which able and constructive minds might take advantage with the result of banishing much of the want and hunger to which Mr. Hunter calls our attention.

Mr. Hunter estimates that in the city of New York not less than fourteen per cent., nor perhaps more than twenty-five per cent., of the entire population (the exact figures being difficult to obtain), suffer from poverty, and that a very large percentage of this poverty-stricken class suffer in the direst way from want and hunger. Yet within a hundred miles of the great city lie hundreds of abandoned farms, thousands of acres of unproductive land, much of which affords excellent pasturage and will grow excellent hay, and much will grow corn and other produce on a small scale. Not only is this true, but, within the confines of the territory that I have named, there are allowed to go to waste each year thousands of bushels of apples, garden-stuff, and other produce, much of it being left ungarnered to rot on the land, which would, at any rate, if of no great commercial value, tend to ameliorate the distress to which Mr. Hunter calls our attention, if it could be placed within the reach of the distressed classes.

These waste acres, these abandoned farms to which I have referred, can be easily found by any one who seeks them; and a very short experiment will prove them capable of producing crops, not adequate, perhaps, in comparison with the crops that may be grown on the Iowa and Indiana bottom-lands, but crops that will compare favorably with those of many other sections of our country.

It must be borne in mind, however, that the part of the coun-

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try to which I am referring is, by the contour of the land as nature left it, designed to be the country of the small farm of ten acres or so, and that it is, accordingly, especially well fitted for the experiment I am advocating, which is, in brief, that these unused lands shall be made to feed our starving people from the results of their own labor upon it.

The farms being small, it is necessary to bear in mind that a ready market for the produce from them must be secured, as the present methods of marketing produce in New York from the adjoining territory will not avail for the small farmer I have in mind, the present freight rates, together with commission and packing charges, rendering quite impracticable the shipments of small quantities of produce from such small farms, close as they are to the city.

On several occasions I have myself sent apples, potatoes, onions and other produce, from a small farm in Connecticut, only to sustain a net loss on the shipments, after paying the many charges to which they are subject; while milk at such farms brings only two cents a quart in summer and three cents in winter, the balance of the price paid in New York being consumed by freight and handling charges.

I shall not endeavor to point out how the difficulties I have mentioned are to be overcome, but let it suffice to say that there is land enough available, and cheap, which if properly cultivated would feed, and feed well, a far larger distressed population than now suffers unrelieved among us.

Whether the task of making these waste places feed our present starving peoples shall be undertaken by a band of philanthropists who will purchase the lands, put colonists on them and provide means of bringing the produce to market within the reach of the poor purses of shipper and consumer; or whether the common people, urged on by the socialistic propaganda now so actively and ably set forth by many of our younger writers, and wearying of our present methods of distribution, shall confiscate the unused lands and take over and squeeze the water out of the stock and unnecessary expense out of the management of the railroads, no one can now foresee; but it seems probable that we shall, sooner or later, in one way or another, devise some means for relieving a destitution wholly unnecessary, and even criminal, in view of the unused acres of productive land lying at our doors.

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An editorial writer in one of our evening newspapers not long ago called attention to the antiquity of the servant problem, quoting, among other writers, Defoe, in an effort to prove that the difficulties of obtaining adequate household service were just as great some hundreds of years ago as they are at present. Clever as was this writer's argument, there can be little doubt, in the minds of those acquainted with the modern aspect of the problem, that its difficulties from the standpoint of the employer are increasing year by year, and that these difficulties are probably the cause of much of the avoidance of home responsibilities, for which, as has been recently pointed out, the Americans as a people are to be reproached.

Not only do the wages of indoor and outdoor servants continually increase, and out of all proportion to the value of the service rendered, but those seeking employment of this character become year by year more exacting in their demands for what they term their rights, until in a moderate-sized household there is usually one servant at least "out" on every afternoon of the week; and the tendency of servants to leave a place, in the event of the slightest inconvenience or discomfort, has risen to such a pitch that in many households the comfort and convenience of the servants must, of necessity, be studied and catered to before any thought is given to the wants of the employer.

The conditions to which I have called attention in the preceding paragraph are, I may mention here, exactly the reverse of what is taking place in business, as far as minor clerical positions are concerned, where the present tendency is towards lower wages, and where clerks remain, year after year, in the same poorly paid positions and without hope, in many cases, of advancement. In fact, a porter or packer in many business houses will receive a smaller yearly wage than a useful man in house service, who also receives, in addition, his food and lodging; and thousands of women who work in clerical positions receive far less in wages than the well-fed and pampered individuals who consent to do our household work.

It is not, perhaps, the highest type of life, that of the house servant, particularly as in most cases it prohibits the home and family to those so engaged,—which we have recent authority for stating as the American ideal; but to many thousands of those sufferers from distress and want, whose case Mr. Hunter has so

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ably set forth, house service would open a fascinating vista of relief from hard work to easy hours, lighter tasks, and well-fed prosperity.

With a little aid from a well-equipped training-school, many of those whose lives are now one constant and unceasing struggle with poverty could enter the ranks of this calling, which, if not among the highest ideals of American life, will still give employment at once easy, healthful, and well paid, and in which there are thousands of unfilled positions at all times, owing to the impossibility of getting applicants for them.

If the limits of space permitted, it would be easy to go on and point out other occupations, in addition to the two cited above, in which with a little judicious aid many of our starving millions might find employment; but enough has been said, I think, to prove that these are directions in which our charities might be far more wisely expended than in the indiscriminate giving which is so largely a feature of our present system. The fact is that the great and increasing complexities of our modern social and industrial life seem to require a new addition or department to our city governments—a bureau of employment and information in which can be brought together those needing employment and opportunity and those having occasion for such services.

Such a bureau, however, will have to be managed on different lines from some similar enterprises which are already a feature of our so-called charitable work, in an employment agency of one of which you may obtain, with great promptness, assistants whose character and honesty have never been inquired into, and whose services are of no value and would be dear at any price; or where, in another, you may have your laundry work done, to be returned full of holes from the acids employed in their cleansing, and display what thankfulness you may if they are not, in addition, contaminated by dirt and vermin.

Let us take, then, a few thousands of dollars out of the many thousands that are given away each year in indiscriminate and pauperizing charity, and found a school and bureau for the training of outdoor workers and farm-hands, and for getting or making places for these when trained. More such vacancies exist at all times than we could supply trained hands for after years of work, to say nothing of the small farms so necessary to be

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made and tilled out of the idle lands lying all about us. A similar training-bureau (attention being paid to character and responsibility in both institutions), for female servants and which could be established and maintained at comparatively small cost, would become in turn a priceless boon to employer and employed, and do much to bring about the only millennium possible for this world, when every man would have his appointed work—the reverse of which is the rule to-day, when the poor and dispirited seekers for work, to the number of thousands daily, able-bodied and willing, but without special training, may travel many miles and suffer all hardships without finding work for willing hands to do.

G. P. Brett.

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WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON: ST. PETERSBURG: PARIS: WASHINGTON.

LONDON, *January, 1905.*

THE Alien question in England, as elsewhere, is mainly the Jewish question. In its acute phase, it is confined to London. There are Jewish colonies of alien and unskilled laborers in Manchester, Liverpool, Hull and Leeds; four or five per cent. of the miners in the Lanarkshire coal-mines are aliens; and Italians have recently been imported to work certain Northumberland mines. But, when the Alien Immigration question is spoken of in England, what is meant is the question of the settlement of Russian and Polish Jews in various districts in the East End of London. Americans, as they have had to face this problem on a tremendous and unprecedented scale, will probably make light of England's difficulties when they hear that the number of aliens in the East End, including the children of foreign-born parents, does not exceed 80,000. But these 80,000 have succeeded in raising the issue in a form that is, perhaps, more aggravated than anything that is known in New York. I speak with diffidence on the subject—it is well-nigh impossible to compare and estimate degrees of poverty and wretchedness and to trace their effects below a certain level. But I should be surprised if it could be proved that there is anything in the circumstances of the festering East Side of New York more disastrous and depressing than in Stepney or Spitalfields. Into the least prosperous and most congested districts of the East End there has been this constant influx of aliens from the poorest and most backward regions of Eastern Europe. They come bringing with them a lower standard of living than obtains among the native population; they congregate, by instinct and unbroken racial tendency, *en bloc;* and they neither assimilate their new neighbors nor are assimilated by

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them, preserving in all countries and under every variety of fortune their traditional and impregnable aloofness. The broad results of such an influx may be easily summarized. In the first place, congestion becomes worse congested, rents rise with abnormal rapidity, and the quality of the accommodation declines in proportion. Secondly, the native is expropriated, displaced and forced to move elsewhere, if he is to maintain his British standards of decent living and not fall to the level that prevails in the Russian Pale. Thirdly, an intense and inhuman competition arises, with the inevitable result of lowering wages and degrading industrial conditions. I hesitate to quote statistics; but I believe it to be a well-established fact that the alien population of London furnishes more than its due proportion of crime and vice and destitution. What cannot be measured in statistics is the enmity that yearly increases between the native and the foreign elements. Anti-Semitism has rarely any religious basis whatever. Almost without exception, it is the economic protest of men who find themselves undersold and driven to the wall, by competitors who belong to a lower material plane. Such is its origin in the East End, and witness after witness testified before the Royal Commission that Anti-Semitic outbreaks were among the probabilities of the near future.

I need not go into the familiar results that flow from the settlement of alien immigrants within English-speaking districts, They may all be seen in the East End—the native turned out of his lodgings by an alien landlord to make room for alien tenants, and forced to live at a distance from his work; dwellings turned into workshops and factories where "sweating" is securely practised; the terrible overcrowding, the incredible wages. In Stepney alone, within the last six years, more than one hundred streets have passed entirely into alien occupation. In one of the public schools of that district, there were in 1895 two hundred and six English pupils and seventy-three foreigners; to-day, there are nearly three hundred alien pupils and less than twenty English. Over fifty thousand English have left or been turned out of Stepney in the past decade and their places have been taken by aliens; the old parish church stands in the midst of a foreign population; and off the main thoroughfares it is the exception to hear the English language spoken. The revelations of the Royal Commission of 1902-03 disclosed such abominations as aliens

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working fifteen hours a day on trouser-pressing for a wage of $1 50 a week; tailors "finishing" 300 pairs of trousers at three cents a pair; shoemakers working sixteen and seventeen hours a day, in underground cellars, for $3 a week; men engaged to soften inferior skins for furriers by treading them out, barefooted, in vats, at from 75 cents to $2 a week, working from twelve to sixteen hours a day and taking their meals standing in the vats; twenty-one women sewing in a kitchen sixteen feet by twelve feet, and seven feet high, for sixteen and eighteen cents a week—all aliens and all Jews.

Many influences have restrained England from dealing with the Alien problem by legislation. For one thing, the English people have in the past enormously benefited by welcoming and assimilating immigrants and refugees from all countries. But for the Huguenots, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the religious persecutions that lasted on the Continent till the middle of the eighteenth century, English industry would not now be what it is. What one may call the Huguenot tradition, the tradition that England shall always be the asylum of the oppressed of other nations, still survives and is proudly cherished. Moreover, the Alien question, whatever it may become in the far future, is at present not a national but a local question. Besides, the influence of the Jewish community in England has always and naturally set itself athwart any and every proposal for restricting or controlling Alien Immigration; and, though the number of Jews in England is small—probably under 150,000,—their political, journalistic, and especially their financial, influence is immense. Consequently, immigration into England is absolutely unrestricted and unchallenged. Such unfettered entry is, I believe, absolutely unique; and it is worth noting that it goes far beyond the example set by the Jews themselves. In Baron Hirsch's Jewish colony in Argentina, as well as in similar establishments elsewhere, Jewish immigrants are carefully inspected, and such as are mentally physically or morally unfit, are unhesitatingly rejected. England alone receives all who come to her—the pauper, the criminal, the vicious and the inefficient, as well as the industrious, the clean-living and the capable.

That this is carrying generosity too far is, I think, admitted by all moderate Englishmen; but no attempt to say where the line is to be drawn has yet succeeded. Success, indeed, seems farther

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off to-day than ever. The question of Alien Immigration has been linked with the Fiscal Question, and the last hope of considering it impartially and on its merits is gone. The Protectionists, of course, are rigid exclusionists; and the Free-Traders, while prepared to keep out or expel the diseased, the criminal, the pauper and other alien undesirables, are not prepared to forbid the landing of those who cause the real trouble—the poor, sharp-witted, thrifty immigrants who do not intend to remain poor. What the East End cares about is not the percentage of criminals or paupers among aliens, but the percentage of hard-working and industrious competitors; and to keep them out is to keep all aliens out. No Government has ever ventured or ever will venture to suggest anything so drastic as this. Even the Royal Commission, that sat on the subject two years ago, did not go beyond advising that aliens should be barred from certain prohibited areas which officialdom might find to be "overcrowded," and that undesirables should either be prevented from landing or expelled the country. These suggestions were embodied in a Bill which was introduced by the Government in March of last year, but so little earnestness was shown in pushing it through, that the Liberals had no difficulty in throttling it in Committee. Next session, it is probable that a similar Bill will be brought forward and passed; but its effects will hardly meet one of the East-Enders' real objections to the alien. Those objections could only be permanently satisfied by excluding all aliens, or, at any rate all alien Jews, from England; and such a measure would hurt the East End, and indeed all England, far more than it would hurt the Jews.

The strangest England that any Englishman could imagine would be an England satisfied with its Army. The attitude of the public mind of this country towards the War Office, the almost yearly Army Schemes, and the deluge of Reports on all military affairs, is, so far as I can gauge it, one of bewilderment, disgust and despair. Nor can one wonder at this. Among the hundred and one lessons bitten in by the Boer war, none was more self-evident than the need of complete artillery rearmament. Except for eighteen batteries hurriedly purchased in Germany at the last moment, the British had not a gun in the field that was not surpassed by the Boer equipment in range, in accuracy, in power and in rapidity of fire. Nor was the Boer artillery by any means the best that was to be had. Had Great Britain been engaged with a

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Continental Power, it is not too much to say that her defective artillery alone would have made defeat inevitable. It is three years since the Boer war ended; it is five since the shortcomings of the artillery were first fully revealed. The matter was thoroughly gone into by a Committee soon after Lord Roberts's return home in 1901. It took the Committee two and a half years to decide upon a new type of weapon—a period which, considering all the intricacies of the subject, was neither excessively long nor excessively short. But after the Committee had reached its decision there was a delay, a criminal delay, of nearly a year, during which the Committee's findings were reviewed by the new Army Council, the new Council of Defence, tossed backwards and forwards, and practically repudiated by the Treasury, which refused to find the money. It may have been a mere coincidence, but I believe it was not, that, shortly after the crisis of the North Sea outrage, all objections disappeared and the orders for the new guns — 107 batteries costing about $12,500,000 — were actually placed. At the present moment, admittedly, the finest gun in the world is the French. Whether the new British gun will prove better than or slightly inferior to this king of weapons is a point on which the experts who have seen both speak with oracular hesitation. But there can be no doubt that the new 18½-pounder for the Field-artillery, and the new 12-pounder for the Horse-artillery, firing twenty rounds to the minute and with an effective range of 7000 yards, belong to the very first class of guns, and may easily turn out to be the top of that class. The only trouble with them is that they cannot be delivered for another two years.

Consider what this means. A war is raging in which Great Britain, under certain eventualities, is bound to spring to the assistance of one of the combatants. The Power, or one of the Powers, she would have to face would be Russia, and Russia is the only Power England is ever likely to meet on the battle-field that has a frontier practically coterminous with her own. A war with Russia would be preeminently a land war, a war for the possession of India, a war in which artillery would play a decisive, if not the deciding, part. It is at such a juncture that the British War Office nonchalantly announces that in two years' time it hopes to be ready to fight, that its present artillery is "the worst in the world," but that it confidently expects that twenty-four months from now the new equipment will be complete. For two years to

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come this nation has almost automatically bound itself to peace; and, it is worth noting, in two years to come the Anglo-Japanese Alliance will have reached the end of its original term. There is something in this plain statement of facts that suggests nothing less than treason to British interests, to Japan, to everything that concerns the two Powers. In 1907, eight years after the inefficiency of her guns was made palpable on the battle-field, six years after Lord Roberts's return from South Africa, and five years after the conclusion of the Boer war, Great Britain will actually be rearmed and fit, if necessary, to take the field. And that is by no means a record achievement on the part of the War Office; it is simply a fair sample of ordinary British military administration. All that England can do is to swear savagely at some one unknown, and pray that she may be dragged into no war for another two years at least. Her prayers may be, probably will be, answered. But there are a great many possibilities and a great many rumors that point in another direction. It is whispered, for instance, that, situated as Russia and Japan are, there can be no half-way house between open enmity and open friendship; that they must either be at war or in alliance; and that, having learned to know and respect one another, and realizing the impossibility of final victory on either side, they will prefer to be allies rather than foes. This means that, instead of the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, a Russo-Japanese Alliance will be formed. Stranger things have happened. Again, one hears in London the most sinister rumors of Russian "aggression" on the Indian frontier; of a peace in the Far East that will leave her free to confront her real antagonist, Great Britain, with all her power; of how the best Russian troops are not with Kuropatkin, but are being slowly massed on the Afghan frontier; of how all is in readiness to spring the mine. Rumors such as these are the natural fruit of war-time; but it must, I imagine, have gravely disturbed Lord Kitchener to observe the admirable working of the Trans-Siberian Railway, to reflect that Russia has not merely a single badly laid line connecting her with Central Asia, but two solid and carefully planned tracks, and to know that he has neither the men nor the guns to meet one-half the force that is now fighting on the Shaho. It is, however, one of the historical privileges of Englishmen always to be face to face with such dilemmas, and always to escape from them somehow.

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ST. PETERSBURG, *January, 1905.*

DREARILY the new year has opened for Russia: her "invincible" armies are held in check by the Japanese; her best ships are sunk or disabled; Port Arthur has fallen; her people are virtually in revolution; the fate of her autocracy is trembling in the balance. The change which has come over the Tsardom is as thorough, if not quite as sudden, as any transformation ever wrought by Circe's wine-cup. A little over a twelvemonth ago, the Tsar's will, even when capricious and aggressive, had the force of law among the nations, who, appreciating the blessings of peace, were willing to purchase them by considerable forbearance. At home, too, his subjects believed in his power, and trembled as they saw it applied to destroy what was best in the Finnish, German, Polish, Armenian, Jewish and Russian elements of the nation. International, as well as Russian, law was thus suspended or abolished by a decree of the Great Autocrat, who was probably the most powerful potentate the world had ever seen. Since then, his will has been crossed—abroad, by the race whom his Russians despised too heartily to hate; and at home, by a mere band of malcontents, who, unlike Pompey of old, have had but to stamp with their feet in order to bring legions to their ranks.

Unquestionably, revolution in Russia will prove to be a very different process from what it was in France or elsewhere. For one thing, it will be immeasurably slower; and, for another, it may at certain stages be marked by a degree of ferocity which the peoples of the United States and Western Europe can hardly realize. The situation at present is characterized by a condition of things which a year ago was inconceivable. The little band of "rioters," as they were generally called, has become commensurate with the whole articulate nation, which, having grown conscious of the strength born of combination, has united in a strenuous effort to pull down the citadel of autocracy. Students and working-men, who in Russia are generally the revolutionary "food for cannon," were the first to rush forward as the pioneers of the movement, seeking to put an end to despotic rule; journalists, novelists, professors, followed suit; landed proprietors, noblemen, merchants, cautiously upheld the modest claims of the writing fraternity; and, finally, the Zemsky Congress managed to get their demands brought to the personal cognizance of the Emperor himself.

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But to those symptoms the Government paid little attention. The war, Grand-Duke Vladimir is said to have remarked, had rendered the people nervous, and it would be a mistake to make too much ado about silly outbursts of temper, which were devoid of real significance. In vain did remote Zemstvos, Siberian town councils, "converted" boards of noblemen, members of the provincial bar, university faculties, and councils of the High Schools send in by post, or telegraph, their hearty adhesion to the programme of the Zemstvo Presidents. The Government continued to make light of the whole movement, which would subside, said Grand-Duke Sergius, the moment fortune favored Russian arms in the Far East.

But the symptoms of the coming change were multiplied and, at the same time, their gravity increased. Timid men grew courageous and made public profession of their faith, regardless of consequences to themselves; princes stepped forward as champions of the peasants; officials who had theretofore stood by the Government announced that, come what might, they would throw in their lot with the people. For instance, an official who was sure to be a Governor of a certain province signed a petition for a legislative assembly, thus ruining his career. The unanimous council of the St. Petersburg Polytechnical Institute forwarded a memorial to the Minister of Finances, recording their firm conviction that technical education is impossible so long as the political and social conditions inseparable from autocracy have not been changed. The Municipality of Yalta resolved to telegraph to Prince Mirsky its certitude that the high bill of mortality in the towns and cities of Russia was one of the direct effects of autocracy, and could not be bettered until the cause was removed. The legal bar of St. Petersburg and Moscow sent a deputation to Mirsky to petition for representative government.

On December 12th, the provincial Zemsky Congress of Kaluga forwarded an address to the Emperor, which created a sensation throughout the length and breadth of Russia. The members actually volunteered to rally round His Majesty and support him "against the enemies of law and order," *i. e.*, the *bureaucracy*, and they added:

"Believe us, Sire, when we assure you that speech, to be sincere, must be free; that joint work, to be productive, must be performed by citizens who possess equal rights and whose personality is inviolable; that

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no conscience is pure but that which is not enthralled, and that no prayer is fervent excepting that which is offered up in the public temple of all denominations."

They end their address with a hope that the Tsar will summon elected representatives of the land to contribute to its peaceful development and prosperity.

The Moscow Town Council unanimously adopted a resolution declaring the absolute necessity of the following reforms: legal protection of the individual against the arbitrary measures of officialdom; the repeal of those exceptional regulations which give the local authorities power to imprison or banish anybody without assigning a reason; freedom of creed, of the press, of meeting and of association; a popular chamber to watch over these popular rights and to control the Government. The St. Petersburg Municipality adopted a similar resolution. Banquets were organized at which fiery speeches were delivered, like those we read of in Paris on the eve of the great Revolution. At one of these festive gatherings in a public hall, the guests numbering several thousand covered the portrait of the Tsar with a red flag, on which the inscription was painfully visible in white letters: "Down with the Autocracy!" At many others, the two men who killed Plehve were unanimously honored. The counsel for one of them—Sozonoff—said in his speech for the defence: "The bomb which blew M. Plehve to pieces was filled, not with dynamite, but with the tears of the widows and orphans of those whom he had sent to the scaffold, to dreary dungeons and to Siberia."

The imperial family, in the person of one of the Empresses, had been warned by royalties abroad that it would be greatly to the advantage of the Autocrat, as well as the autocracy, if a sop were thrown to the popular Cerberus. Good grounds, it is said, were alleged for this opinion, and His Majesty was accordingly attuned to a conciliatory mood. He became willing to make concessions, and to promise reforms; but he would not, of course, put sharp weapons into the hands of "his children," and still less would he lay down the powers with which God Himself had invested him. That was the Tsar's attitude—unforeseen by the Liberals who had looked forward either to frank opposition or graceful consent. And his acts were in harmony with it. He warmly supported Prince Mirsky, against whom an intrigue was coarsely spun by a number of courtiers and the indispensable

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Grand-Dukes. He allowed the press to have its fling and the Zemstvo representatives to speak their minds; but there he drew the line. There must be no tampering with the rights and prerogatives of the autocracy. They at any rate should remain inviolable. Neither must the war be condemned nor peace with the Japanese advocated. Russia, and more especially the reigning dynasty, has need of a decisive victory over the yellow-skins. The newspapers were accordingly prohibited from publishing any of the cries for peace which were heard all over the country.

A very queer mixture of liberty and restriction resulted which puzzled everybody. But, from time to time, tokens of the Emperor's view on the main point were noticed, the significance of which could not well be mistaken. For example, the President of the Chernigoff Provincial Zemstvo had telegraphed to the Tsar, in the name of his colleagues, a petition for "the rights of the Russian people," including Constitutional Government. That act was unquestionably incorrect, because in ordinary times all such requests must be sent to the Governor, who may or may not forward them to the monarch. In the second place, no subject has the right to telegraph direct to the Tsar; and, thirdly, neither the Zemstvo nor its President is authorized to discuss or meddle with questions of international politics. Mukhanoff, the President of the Chernigoff Zemstvo, had therefore exceeded his rights in the spirit as well as the letter. Still, the present moment is exceptional; and it was hoped that the Tsar would shut his eyes to the misdemeanor. But Nicholas II availed himself of the opportunity to teach the Liberals manners, and at the same time to prepare them for what was coming. On the margin of the telegram he penned the following words: "I consider the act of the President of the Chernigoff Provincial Zemsky Assembly impudent and tactless. To discuss questions of State Government is not the business of Zemsky Assemblies, whose sphere of action and rights are clearly outlined by the laws." That censure was immediately published throughout the Empire, as a symptom and a deterrent. As a deterrent, it had no effect whatever on the thousands who felt disposed to imitate the Assembly of Chernigoff; but, as an index of the answer which was being prepared to the demands of the Zemsky Congress, it fulfilled its purpose.

That answer came at last. It was to have been promulgated on the Tsar's name-day, December 19th; but, owing to changes made

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at the last minute, publication was delayed until the date coincided with the anniversary of the historic rising of the "December men" against Nicholas I in 1825. And then it came, not as the overture to a new era, but as the epilogue to the old one. It deals only with morbid symptoms, leaving the roots of the evils untouched. It offers very little in the way of concessions, and even that little may at any moment be withdrawn. For those and other reasons, the ukase disappointed every one. The quintessence of the demands made by the Zemsky Congress was a legislative body, which should be at once the source of law and the guardian of legality. The seventy-one* members who were in favor of the new creation argued that no imperial grant is sufficient or final because so long as the Emperor's will is supreme, he may always resume possession of the rights which he abandons, as, indeed, Nicholas II did in his dealings with the Finnish people. Hence, law ought to be something independent of his will. But the idea of parliamentary government was scouted by the Tsar's advisers, not excluding M. Witte.

For the "Russian Bismarck" was the master-spirit who prompted the reforms and even worded the imperial ukase. The present political crisis, say his enemies, was the stepping-stone from which he vaulted into power a second time. As Finance Minister, he had had a voice in almost every public question that cropped up, no matter how little it had to do with finance. In this way, he had wielded such vast power that he was regarded as the uncrowned Tsar of all the Russias. Naturally, time has been hanging heavily on his hands ever since his forced retirement. For, as President of the Committee of Ministers—the post to which he was relegated at the time of his dismissal some eighteen months ago—he has been like a Scandinavian warrior fighting shadows in the fields of Valhalla. He had lost the favor of the Tsar, and with it the secret of turning words into deeds. Therefore, he was ignored by the bureaucracy, and worshipped by the nation's friends, as a sort of Russian Necker, with a pacific revolution in his head.

But now M. Witte has suddenly returned to power, not, like Necker, joyously acclaimed by a confiding nation, but to the accompaniment of strictures and hisses. He has come, people complain, as the advocate of half-measures, lest he should be left in the

* Out of ninety-eight.

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lurch while waiting for whole ones. With the help of a University professor, he drew up a plan of agrarian reform which is excellent so far as it goes. It proposes to make the masses equal to the classes before the law; and it allows the tillers of the soil to move from place to place, in lieu of tying them to the glebe, as Plehve was doing. It is a really helpful scheme; and Prince Mirsky, recognizing its merits, gladly unfolded it to the Tsar, who ordered a bill to be prepared on that basis. That was the first stage in the great statesman's second ascent. The next soon followed. In such cases, it is only the first step that is difficult; the others are taken almost mechanically. Witte, being again consulted by Mirsky—this time on the general answer which the Tsar should give the Zemstvos—was here, too, prepared with a rounded scheme. It covered the political as well as the agrarian field, dealing with the regulations for the press, the rights of religious non-conformists, the introduction of State insurance for working-men, the substitution of law for administrative caprice, and the creation of an assembly with a consultative voice in legislation. Nine points in all. And the ninth was held to be the number which gave value to eight ciphers. And yet it was a very small number. For what M. Witte and Prince Mirsky advocated was not a legislative assembly, such as we find in all civilized States of to-day, but only a very pale reflection; a consultative body elected, not directly by the people, but by the Zemstvos for the rural population, and by the municipal councils for the cities and towns. This assembly, which would probably have been termed a *duma,* would be devoid of all initiative and exercise no control whatever over the public purse. It would merely give its opinion upon bills which had already passed the Council of the Empire but had not yet received the Imperial sanction. As the Council of the Empire itself is but an ornamental institution—because, whatever view it may adopt, the Tsar's will becomes law all the same—it is clear that the projected *duma* would have become the fifth wheel in the State chariot. Still, even a shadow of a legislative body would have been welcomed by the people as a visible pledge of something more substantial to come. Possibly for that reason, it was advocated by Prince Mirsky, by M. Witte, and by three other responsible officials.

However that may be, the Emperor glanced through the document and, on coming to the ninth clause, struck it out angrily.

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"It is lost time," he said, "to ask me to tamper with the powers invested in the Autocracy." The Prince assured him that the projected *duma* was more harmless than the Council of the Empire or the Committee of Ministers, neither of which had done anybody harm or good. But the Tsar, who had meanwhile consulted the Grand-Duke Sergius, was not to be moved. The Moscow organ of the Grand-Duke Sergius, who is more autocratic than the Autocrat himself, uttered the following veiled threat against the Tsar should he surrender any of his rights:

"Attempts to introduce into Russia political self-government have been more than once renewed during past centuries. But to not one of them was God's blessing vouchsafed. The most instructive and cruel blow to any of those essays was dealt by divine Providence a quarter of a century ago, when our liberty-loving Tsar Alexander II perished at the hands of assassins *at the very moment** when he had laid the first stone of the rickety edifice of political self-government, which, happily for Russia, was left unfinished after his decease."

Naturally the ninth paragraph was struck out.

Now Witte was responsible for the plan which included the ninth paragraph, and that is greatly to his credit. But he has also undertaken to realize the modified project, with the ninth clause struck out, and that is a weakness which will not soon be forgiven by the leaders of the parliamentary movement. They bitterly accuse him of sacrificing to inordinate ambition interests of the Russian people which he knows to be vital. His Liberal friends hoped and believed that he would wait in patience until he could be raised to power on the crest of a vast wave of popular feeling. But the sceptical statesman, feeling that he might wait in vain for the spring-tide of political agitation, took the neap tide at the flood. And that is the head and front of his offending. That is why they now refuse to help him.

But the leading spirits of the Liberal party are as dissatisfied with the reforms outlined in the ukase as with their framer, M. Witte. They complain that the Tsar is selling dearly and in detail what they petitioned him to bestow upon them gratis and wholesale, and, worse than that, he does not intend to deliver what he has sold. They had asked for the abolition of classes and class privileges, and he promises the disappearance of certain legal disabilities which weighed upon the peasants. They had

* The italics are in the original.

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agitated in favor of liberty of conscience, and he dangles before them the revision of the legislation restricting the rights of certain non-conformist sects, and the removal of disabilities which do not derive from statute law. They had prayed for the repeal of the coercion ukase, known by the name of Protective Regulations which place the liberty and life of all Russians at the mercy of the local jacks-in-office, and he merely gives instructions to lessen the number of the districts thus trodden underfoot. They besought him to grant liberty of the press, but all that he has undertaken is to remove "the superfluous" restrictions placed upon it, and meanwhile newspapers are being suspended or suppressed. They claimed the right of public meeting and of association, but these claims he wholly ignores. They had begged that Finns, Poles, Jews, Armenians—all the great non-Russian elements, in a word—might be delivered from the persecution from which they are now suffering, but the ukase engages only to strike off those legal fetters which are not required "by the vital interests of the State and the manifest advantage of the Russian people." Who will define these? The bureaucracy. And, above all else, the representative assembly, which was to have been, so to say, the corner-stone of regenerated Russia, has been relegated to the limbo of things that might have been.

What critics complain of, then, is, in the first place, that the measures announced in the manifesto would be absurdly inadequate, even if they were real. But they can never take root, because they are always liable to be withdrawn. That is the end of all reforms in Russia. Heretofore, every concession made, from the days of Nicholas I, has been either formally repealed or else cunningly counteracted by the Ministers of Alexander III or of Nicholas II. The very ukase to which the wretched serfs owed their emancipation had been evaded, and the peasantry were being tied to the soil anew by M. Plehve, when his life was suddenly snuffed out. And all those concessions had been not merely promised, but actually realized; they formed part of the law of the Empire. Yet that did not save them from abolition. And the ukase of last Christmas day realizes nothing. It merely sketches future changes for the better. But are the reforms thus promised likely to be durable, if those which were actually embodied in legislation were so successfully undermined? Russia answers: "No."

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The very first clause affords an interesting example. The Emperor, we there read, deems it urgent to insure the victory of law over caprice. To this end, all authorities, all State departments, are to esteem it their sacred duty to observe the law, and thereby to help engraft upon the people that sense of legality which they now lack. Speaking frankly, that measure, if carried out, would civilize and transfigure Russia. But the people possess no faith in their ruler's intentions. They know that that clause is identical with the 47th paragraph of the fundamental laws of the Empire, which has been a dead letter for generations, owing to the greed of power displayed by the bureaucracy. And they feel sure that as it has been in the past so it will be in the future, because it is that same bureaucracy which is charged with the execution of the present ukase. Would the Emperor choose incurable drunkards as apostles of sobriety?

If the Tsar seriously desired to root out administrative caprice and establish legality, why did he not forbid the punishment of any of his subjects otherwise than by sentence of the law courts? That would have been at once easy and just. That he did not do it, is proof that his intention is conditional. Again, when Nicholas II writes of allowing the Zemstvos a fair share in local administration, he is but throwing dust in our eyes, complain the men of the reform movement. Otherwise, they add, all he had to do was to give back to the Zemstvos the rights which his grandfather bestowed on them in 1864. Again, if he wanted to tranquillize his people and lean upon law as a pillar of autocracy, why did he not repeal the monstrous ukase known as the Protective Regulations? They are not to be repealed, and nobody can tell how far they will be softened down or circumscribed. Why? Because the Tsar's scheme is to be like those of his predecessors, provisional, contingent. It differs nowise in spirit and very little in words from the manifesto issued early in 1903. Yet the reforms outlined then were construed by the all-powerful Minister, Plehve, as instructions for the forging of new chains!

Curiously enough, a Government *communiqué* was published a few hours after the ukase, which, to use a Russian simile, puts a spoonful of tar into the very small quantity of honey which the ukase contained. It forbids, under pains and penalties, all meetings, banquets, processions, newspaper articles in favor of a legislative chamber, and it also flatly denies that there is any general

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demand for such a body in the country. The Zemstvos, too, are sharply told to keep within bounds, and are severely blamed for stirring up the people; while patriots, like General Kuzmin-Karavayeff, are accused, without being expressly named, of being the allies of the Japanese! Bitterness, not loyalty, is the inevitable result of these foolish accusations, which confirm the belief that the so-called reforms are conditional and temporary.

And the condition is, say the Liberals, that the Japanese hold their own against Kuropatkin. Once let the fortune of war smile upon Russia, and the reaction will make another clean sweep of all present "reforms." Hence the extraordinary endeavors which the Government is now making to crush the enemy by an overwhelming superiority in numbers as soon as the warm weather sets in. To this purpose, every nerve is strained; every source of strength is being tapped; reinforcements are being sent by land and sea, and even all the monasteries are being compelled to tax themselves "voluntarily." If Kuropatkin were to defeat the Japanese, he would also worst the Russian Liberals. But even then it is practically certain that autocracy would not win the day. For the war is virtually an examination which absolutism has to pass successfully or disappear. The two subjects are military skill and economic soundness. And in one of these, if not in both, autocracy is certain to fail. People feel this instinctively rather than know it, and are therefore resolved to continue their agitation. At a subscription banquet here on December 24th, 780 representatives of all classes of the population loudly applauded Professor Lootooghin when he said: "Let us follow the advice of St. Augustine, who writes: 'If to speak the truth be to foment disorder, then let us rise up, brothers, and foment disorder with all our might!'"

A banquet which was to be held in Moscow on the same night, and for a similar purpose, was hindered by the Grand-Duke Sergius. A political supper organized in the city of Kursk was prevented in like manner. Universities and high schools have been closed by order of the authorities, who consider the conduct of the students treasonable. The Council of the Moscow University, on the contrary, declares that the violent measures adopted by the authorities against the students have aroused such bitterness that lectures will have to be suspended until next Autumn. Henceforth, more than five visitors are not admitted to any

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students' rooms, in any part of the Empire, for any purpose whatever, lest they should conspire. Thus the Government indulges in arbitrary rule and lawless violence, while the people seem ready to transgress laws more sacred than those of the autocracy in their eagerness to root out administrative caprice. In a word, Russia has entered upon the first stage of revolution.

PARIS, *January, 1905.*

IN endeavoring to comprehend the real situation in which M. Combes, the Prime Minister, finds himself, it is essential to remember that his enemies have long ceased to be only on that side of Parliament where he sees his political opponents. Many a man who supports him in every ballot thinks in his heart that he could do the anticlerical business better than the Premier; and he should not forget that the Socialists, without whom he cannot govern, are too strong men to be capable of gratitude, and may some day mete out to him the same justice that he has meted out to M. André. Even in the party to which he himself belonged when he succeeded M. Waldeck-Rousseau, he has bitter enemies. M. Leygues, M. Caillaux, above all, M. Lockroy, all three members of the preceding cabinet, cannot be said to be in the Opposition, yet they take advantage of every opportunity to criticise his methods. M. Lockroy, more especially, does not let a week pass without attacking his successor, M. Pelletan, in the Chamber or in the press. But these three men are lambs in comparison with M. Doumer and M. Millerand, both of them men of exceptional powers and capable of the terrible political hatred which is worse than the worst grudges.

M. Millerand's ill-will against the Prime Minister does not arise merely from his having belonged to M. Waldeck-Rousseau's cabinet: his grievance is of a personal character. When M. Combes was accused of having been privy to his son's alleged attempt to appropriate the "Carthusians' million," instead of being content with clearing himself, as he did without difficulty, he hinted that the man who had been silent when he should have spoken was the ex-Minister of Commerce. The pale-lipped eloquence of M. Millerand's reply will never be forgotten by any of those who were at the Chamber that day. M. Millerand is a barrister, but he never indulged in the long-winded periods one

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hears at the Palais. Were it not for a tendency to subtilty, a habit of noticing details, minute particulars of procedure, etc., his plain, direct, impassioned speech would never remind one of the bar. The man is independence itself. A Freemason and staunch anticlerical, he has lately been excommunicated by the Lodges. A Socialist—the politician who succeeded in passing the only acts so far practically favorable to Labor—he also was ejected by the Socialists. He never goes a step farther than where his opinion leads him, and he cares not for consequences. When M. Ribot ascends the tribune, his soberly ornate speech and quickness of apprehension, together with his knowledge of financial and home politics, always secure him a respectful hearing, but he has now dropped into a party whose speeches are only talk. Everybody feels, on the contrary, that M. Millerand's addresses are as near acts as he can make them, and that every time he attacks the cabinet, it is with an idea that its ruin may ensue.

M. Doumer would be a hardly less formidable foe, if he had not been known to be one a little too long. Intellectually, he is not on a level with M. Millerand. He is partly a self-taught man, and never gives the impression that he could be capable of a wide political outlook; but he has friends, an admirable understanding of financial questions, and his mind is even more made up against M. Combes than M. Millerand's. Is it ambition or a less selfish motive? Perhaps both. M. Doumer, for several years, was governor of Indo-China; and I do not think that one single instance could be adduced of a man—diplomat, soldier or other—living abroad or in the colonies for any length of time, with enough power to make him conscious of his responsibility, and coming home as ready as he was to be plunged into the political whirlpool. A governor of Indo-China or Algeria certainly enjoys more independence and stands a better chance of attaining to statesmanship than a Prime Minister who accepts, as does M. Combes, constant reference to his majority. Coming home again, his first impression is that the head of the central power, with whom he has been more than once in conflict, is little better than a man of straw. In fact, M. Doumer used some such contemptuous expression soon after his return from Indo-China, and M. Combes had to give a great banquet at Laon, M. Doumer's own constituency, to afford him an occasion for replying to an address of the latter which had been nothing short of a declaration of war. Contrary

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to his expectations, M. Doumer has not overthrown the government yet, and he is still president of the Budget Committee; but this position gives him a daily opportunity of authoritatively interfering in almost every debate, and he seldom deprives himself of the pleasure of doing so with totally unveiled hostility to the Premier. If it is remembered that men like M. Gerville-Réache, Vice-President of the Chamber, and M. Etienne, president of the group of Democratic Union, without which the majority would not hang together, are or have been interested, like M. Doumer, in the colonies, side with him on most questions, and suffer M. Combes instead of liking him, it will be realized that a majority with such a man *in* it—for his political creed places him in the Extreme Left—may turn out at any moment to be a mere fiction. In fact, even supposing the "groups" to remain what they are, the "*Temps*" has just pointed out that a cabinet a shade more moderate than the present could do without the assistance of the Socialists, and be sure of the twelve or thirteen votes that make up the present majority. But the groups may not be much longer what they have been for years. The great and almost inexplicable homogeneousness of the majority in the last two Parliaments was the effect mostly of the Dreyfus Affair, which let anticlericalism loose and gave unexpected influence to the Socialists. Most of the bills introduced were anti-Catholic in tendency and, consequently, agreeable to all but the Right and the Centre—that is to say, to what M. Clémenceau was the first to call the "*Bloc.*" The *Bloc* consists of four sections or groups, each with a complete organization—a president, secretary, regular meetings, etc.—the more influential members of which not only discuss the course to be followed in every important affair, but by the tacit understanding of their friends are the Ministers of the morrow. M. Combes had made a practice of asking the advice of the four presidents of the groups before proposing any serious measure, and, if it took from his independence, this practice added much to the stability of his cabinet. As long as he had only antireligious schemes to suggest, even M. Etienne's group—the most moderate of the four—ratified them as implicitly as M. Jaurès and his Socialist followers. But anticlericalism is not inexhaustible, and other questions now crop up which set the most listless deputy thinking. There are at present two under discussion: one, Disestablishment, still in committee; the

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other, the Income Tax, in the first stage of parliamentary procedure. Both are full of hidden snares, into which M. Doumer, prepared with statistics and figures, is longing to decoy his enemy.

Disestablishment had long been thought an impossibility. The Radicals—above all, M. Clémenceau, who used to deliver a yearly speech on the subject—insisted so much that it was a necessity that people grew accustomed to the notion; and, when the Papal Nuncio was recalled in July of last year, it was spoken of as a matter of course. A remarkably industrious and ingenious Socialist, M. Briand, had prepared a bill which was said to be immediately workable, and it was rumored that it would be enacted into law offhand, and enforced by the end of 1905. Yet the first weeks of the session elapsed without a word from the Premier to bring the bill under discussion, and it began to look as if he was afraid of approaching the subject, when, one fine evening, at the end of an indifferent sitting, he suddenly laid the *projet* on the President's table. The astonishment which this rapidity of impulse created was not lessened when it was found that the Premier's bill differed in some important particulars from that of M. Briand, and consequently had to be submitted to the committee as if nothing had as yet been done.

A detailed examination of the ins and outs of the question of Disestablishment would be long and tedious. The ownership of the churches is the most important part of it, and I will content myself with a brief *exposé* of that. The Reign of Terror deprived the clergy of all they possessed, churches as well as lands, which were generally bought back from the government by private individuals. The Concordat of 1802 returned the religious buildings to their original owners, but the clergy agreed, for the sake of peace, not to dispute the validity of the sale of their property during the Revolution, provided a stipend of 900 to 1200 francs (180 to 240 dollars) were paid yearly to parish priests Now, in the event of Disestablishment, M. Combes's bill provides that a pension equivalent to about half their present stipend shall be paid to clergy over forty years of age; but that henceforward no stipend is to be allotted to the clergy, and, what is worse, that the churches and houses of the beneficed clergy are to be taken back from them and only used upon payment of a fixed rent. The consequence is clear. Not only the priests, but their congregations, *i. e.*, a certain number of voters, are sure to grumble against

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treatment which compels them to pay for what they look upon as their own. Every deputy knows that, if his constituents must have reason to complain of him, it should never be about additional expense for which he might be held responsible. Hence the likelihood that M. Combes may not be followed by his usual majority, or that he will endeavor indefinitely to defer a general discussion, in which case the Socialists will say that he is no better than M. Ribot, and a split in the *Bloc* will ensue.

Many deputies who generally support the government seem to be just as shy of the proposed law on the Income Tax. It is very true that our present financial system weighs more heavily on the humble than on the wealthy, as it is based chiefly on the amount of house rent, which is by no means proportioned to the real means of the taxpayer,—in fact, is a totally misleading sign. It is very true also that M. Rouvier, like most of his predecessors, unites the desire of being fair to that of securing an ample exchequer, and wants to get more money from those who have the most. But, making allowance for the perfect purity of his intentions, and for the difficulties inherent in every possible method of extracting money, it is certain that the reform he proposes causes no slight alarm to the taxpayers as well as to their representatives. Taxation of income based on the total wealth of the individual involves a valuation of his property, which, if disputed, entails investigation, and that means odium. This is not all. It seems an ominous sign that the Socialists, who theoretically will have nothing short of *progressive* taxation, appear quite content with the Minister's bill. Not only their political adversaries, but their friends in the *Bloc,* scent some deeply-laid scheme under this quiet demeanor, and the conclusion of M. Rouvier's speech in the general debate has somewhat justified these misgivings. In the first and by far the longest part of this address, the Minister was anxious to show that his bill was merely intended, as he said, to shift the burden from the right shoulder to the left. But, just at the end, he let his hearers catch a glimpse of the terrific productiveness of the future tax, when the old-age pension fund and the nationalization of railways became an urgent necessity. The next morning, an eminent financier, M. Jules Roche, translated these words into figures in the "*Figaro,*" and the sight of this "little bill" is likely to scare away every one in the Radical party who is still at heart a *bourgeois,* that is to say, nine out of ten.

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To sum up, anticlericalism is the order of the day, and a perpetual triumph for the Ministers when it seems to mean clerical money appropriated by the State. The same can be said of Socialism, when the word is limited to its purely political significance. The moment the progress of both doctrines places the deputy and his constituents face to face with contingencies involving expenditure, an uncertainty prevails which is soon followed by distrust and by a fall in the parliamentary barometer such as we have lately seen. The palmy days of anticlericalism are nearly gone, seeing that clericalism is little more than a phantom or a ghost, and the cabinets of long duration which we have admired in the last seven years are going with them. The reader ought not to forget that the average duration of republican governments between 1871 and 1897 was slightly under ten months, but he should remember also that in our system a change of government does not amount, as in England, to a change of policy. The fall of M. Combes and the advent of M. Doumer will not much alter the course of events which we have been able to follow from the days of Gambetta. Those who fear a reaction, as the result of those events, do not read history better than those who long for it

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WASHINGTON, *January, 1905.*

IT is plain enough that, if either of the parties to the present conflict in the Far East were at liberty to proclaim itself accuser, judge, jury and executioner with reference to any controvertible question, the agreement which, at the suggestion of our State Department, was entered into by the belligerent and neutral Powers to respect China's neutrality, would not be worth the paper on which it was originally formulated. Nevertheless, in the note presented to Secretary Hay, Russia practically arrogates the right to decide for herself whether China has or has not committed a breach of neutrality, and, if her *ex parte* decision should be in the affirmative, to take such retaliatory action as to her may seem expedient. It should be patent to every student of international law that, as a matter of principle, Russia's position cannot be for a moment tolerated, though whether repudiation of it should be carried further than indignant protest, and take the form of forcible interposition, is, of course, a question of international policy. A world-involving war must be averted at all hazards:

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to circumscribe the conflict in the Far East to a duel between the original combatants was, of course, the aim of the negotiations by which in February, 1904, Secretary Hay obtained from all the Powers concerned, whether belligerent or neutral, assurances that to the utmost of their respective abilities the neutrality of China should be respected. To punish a flagrant breach of that agreement by a precipitate recourse to coercion, which almost certainly would bring about a general war, would be to lose sight of the primary object. We presume, therefore, that, for the present, at all events, the agency relied upon to convince Russia that she must not arbitrarily, on unproved allegations of her own, set aside an international compact, will be moral suasion. This is the inference to be drawn from Mr. Hay's reply to Russia's note, which reply, by the way, has been communicated to all of the neutral Powers. The latter are reminded of their promises to use their best endeavors to keep China from becoming involved in the war. Those promises, obviously, would not be kept, unless the Powers which made them should insist that a belligerent, instead of arrogantly assuming to decide for itself that China had committed a breach of faith, should submit the question to impartial arbitration. If Russia has any solid foundation for her charges that China has violated a neutral's duties, she should welcome arbitration: if she has none, she, naturally, will look askance on such a method of settling a dispute. A country, however, which, like Russia, in order to maintain her armies in the field, and to shield herself against internal revolution, is absolutely forced to borrow money abroad, cannot afford to resist the pressure of international opinion. When the St. Petersburg Government finds that Mr. Hay's temperate remonstrance against its high-handed attempt to accuse and penalize China in a breath meets with concurrence in Berlin, Vienna, Rome, and even Paris, as well as London, it is likely either to withdraw the imputations made against China's good faith, or submit them to the inspection of an unbiassed tribunal.

Now that President Roosevelt has announced a corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, to the effect that Latin-American republics will be left to their own devices so long as they refrain from outrages upon foreigners and pay their debts, but no longer, it is plainly only a question of a short time when we must either permit Venezuela to be disciplined by foreign creditor-Powers, or take upon

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ourselves the disciplining process. Mr. Roosevelt has made it pretty evident that, whenever he is again confronted by such a dilemma, he will grasp the second horn. He will interpose as a receiver, and administer certain revenues of the delinquent debtor, for the benefit of creditors. Our Government is already doing that in the Dominican custom-house at La Plata, and it must presently take similar measures against Venezuela, or once more allow European creditor-Powers to apply force. For reasons best known to President Castro, the customs revenues of the ports of La Guayra and Puerto Cabello—about a third of which were set aside by treaty for the payment of foreign creditors—are falling very much short of the figures exhibited before the agreement was made. Meanwhile, far from appreciating the friendly position taken by our Government during the blockade of Venezuelan harbors by allied European Powers, President Castro has been showing himself more stiff-necked than ever in his attitude toward an American asphalt company and other American claimants of justice at the hands of Venezuela. It is an act of insolence and folly of which this South American adventurer is guilty. If he had common knowledge and common sense, he would foresee that, should we make up our minds to bring fellows of his kidney to book, they would find our little finger heavier than Europe's loins. There are not a few long-headed Americans who, in view of our national determination to construct and maintain an interoceanic waterway across the Isthmus of Panama, already assert that we cannot afford to tolerate the continuance of anarchy on the southern shore of the Caribbean, and that, in self-defence and in the interest of the civilized world, we may be driven to assume a protectorate over the riparian tract stretching from the Isthmus to the Orinoco.

Why are European manufacturers profoundly interested in the twin bills introduced the other day in the House of Representatives, and understood to embody the President's views, the bills providing that the Interstate Commerce Commission, when a given railway rate is complained of, may substitute another rate, which may be confirmed or set aside on appeal to a Court of Transportation which is to be called into existence. They are interested in two ways. In the first place, if the twin bills to which we refer should become laws, products of European manufacture could never again procure a lower rate of transportation

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from the American seaport at which they might be landed to the interior place of consumption—say, Minneapolis or Kansas City—than could be obtained by domestic competing products shipped from some inland point to the same consumers. In the second place, American products of iron and steel, manufactured, let us say, at Pittsburg, could never again secure a lower rate for transportation to New York, when intended for exportation to European markets, than they could if meant to be distributed and consumed in the United States. So much for the significance which the President's railway policy ought to have in the eyes of foreigners. We need not point out that the Russian producers of crude and refined petroleum will prick up their ears when they learn that the Standard Oil Company may no longer be able to get rebates from the American railways transporting its commodities to Atlantic and Pacific ports for transmission abroad.

It would be almost superfluous to point out the eagerness with which foreign purveyors of some raw materials and certain manufactured products are watching the reception of the President's intimation that some of the duties imposed by the Dingley tariff ought to be reduced, so as to adjust them to existing industrial and commercial conditions. Nothing could exceed the suavity with which the proposal has been persistently urged, or the velvety smoothness of the glove enveloping the proposer's iron hand. It has become tolerably clear during the month of January that the Republican leaders in Congress have succumbed to the dulcet but firm pressure exerted by the President, and that, although no extra session of the Fifty-ninth Congress will be called for the purpose in the coming spring, the task of tariff revision will be seriously undertaken by committees during the summer, and the changes agreed upon will be submitted at an extra session to be held in the early autumn. We say "committees," because, although the Ways and Means Committee of the present House of Representatives expires with the Fifty-eighth Congress, all the members of it have been reelected, and may reasonably expect to reoccupy their former places, so that, properly enough, they can confer unofficially with the corresponding Senate committee.

Well-wishers and ill-wishers of our country are alike concerned to note the position taken by our Federal Government with reference to the solution of the negro problem in our Southern States, a problem the gravity of which is already tremendous, and easily

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might be aggravated by ill-timed and injudicious interference. Such interference was threatened in the platform framed last year at Chicago by the Republican National Convention. A plank in that platform advised that measures should be taken toward an early enforcement of the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution, which provides that a State's representation in the House of Representatives and in the Electoral College shall be reduced in proportion to the number of adult male citizens who in that State may be excluded from the franchise. Although no distinct allusion to the subject was made by Mr. Roosevelt, either in his letter of acceptance or in his speech of acceptance, it seems to have been taken for granted by not a few Republicans that his silence implied approval. In pursuance of this assumption, Mr. Crumpacker of Indiana introduced in the House of Representatives, and Mr. Platt of New York laid before the Senate, resolutions recommending that alleged restrictions of the franchise in certain States should be investigated, and that, if these were found to exist, the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment should be enforced by legislation. No other incident has occasioned such widespread uneasiness, not to say alarm, throughout the South since a Force Bill was mooted under the Harrison Administration. It may be remembered that, at that time and previously, the late James G. Blaine expressed the opinion that the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment had modified seriously the effect and potency of the second section of the Fourteenth. That section had simply asserted that, whenever a State should see fit to exclude the negro from the right of suffrage, the Nation, on its part, would exclude the negro from the basis of apportionment. Mr. Blaine held that, when, by a subsequent change in the Constitution, the Nation declared peremptorily that a State should not exclude the negro from the right of suffrage, it neutralized and surrendered the contingent right, before possessed, of excluding him from the basis of apportionment. It seems to follow that, as things are now, Mr. Blaine would have said that there is no ground for a Force Bill, the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment having lost its vitality, and the Fifteenth Amendment not being applicable, inasmuch as in none of the Southern States is the negro excluded from the franchise *qua* negro, but as a citizen falling short of specified educational or property qualifications.

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We do not know whether President Roosevelt has been much impressed by Mr. Blaine's argument, which makes the application of a Force Bill a matter, not of ethics, but of law. We imagine that he was much more influenced by the moral objections to an enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment, which were set forth effectively by a Southern thinker, Mr. E. G. Murphy, in the last number of this REVIEW. Mr. Murphy undertook to prove—and, in the judgment of many dispassionate readers, he succeeded in proving—that an enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment would work irreparable injury to the welfare and progress of the Southern States. He expressed the conviction that his fellow countrymen at the South would never consent to forfeit the representation in the House of Representatives and in the Electoral College to which their population entitles them, and that, sooner than submit to such a loss of political weight, they would level all the dykes which of late they have patiently erected to shield the intelligence, thrift and progressiveness of their section from being swamped by floods of negro ignorance and white illiteracy. Mr. Murphy did not hesitate to affirm that, in the past, the South had suffered as much, if not more, from the hide-bound prejudice and stubborn backwardness of illiterate whites as from the instability and corruptibility of uneducated and worthless negroes. In conclusion, he made a powerful appeal to warm-hearted and far-sighted men in all parts of the Republic, not to paralyze the efforts of the South to free herself from both sources of misfortune. Let the South go on with her attempt, he said, to make the franchise a certificate of merit, and thus gradually to purge herself of negro ignorance and white illiteracy. Whether it was, we repeat, Mr. Blaine's technical argument or Mr. Murphy's appeal to conscience that exercised the more influence on Mr. Roosevelt's mind, we are not competent to say; but certain it is that, in an interview with Judge Jones of Alabama, one of his appointees to the Federal Judiciary, he made an unequivocal announcement that he was opposed to the enforcement of the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment. We know of nothing that has happened during the last fifteen years that is of better augury for the advancement of the South and for the welfare of the whole Republic.

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